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A DISSERTATION

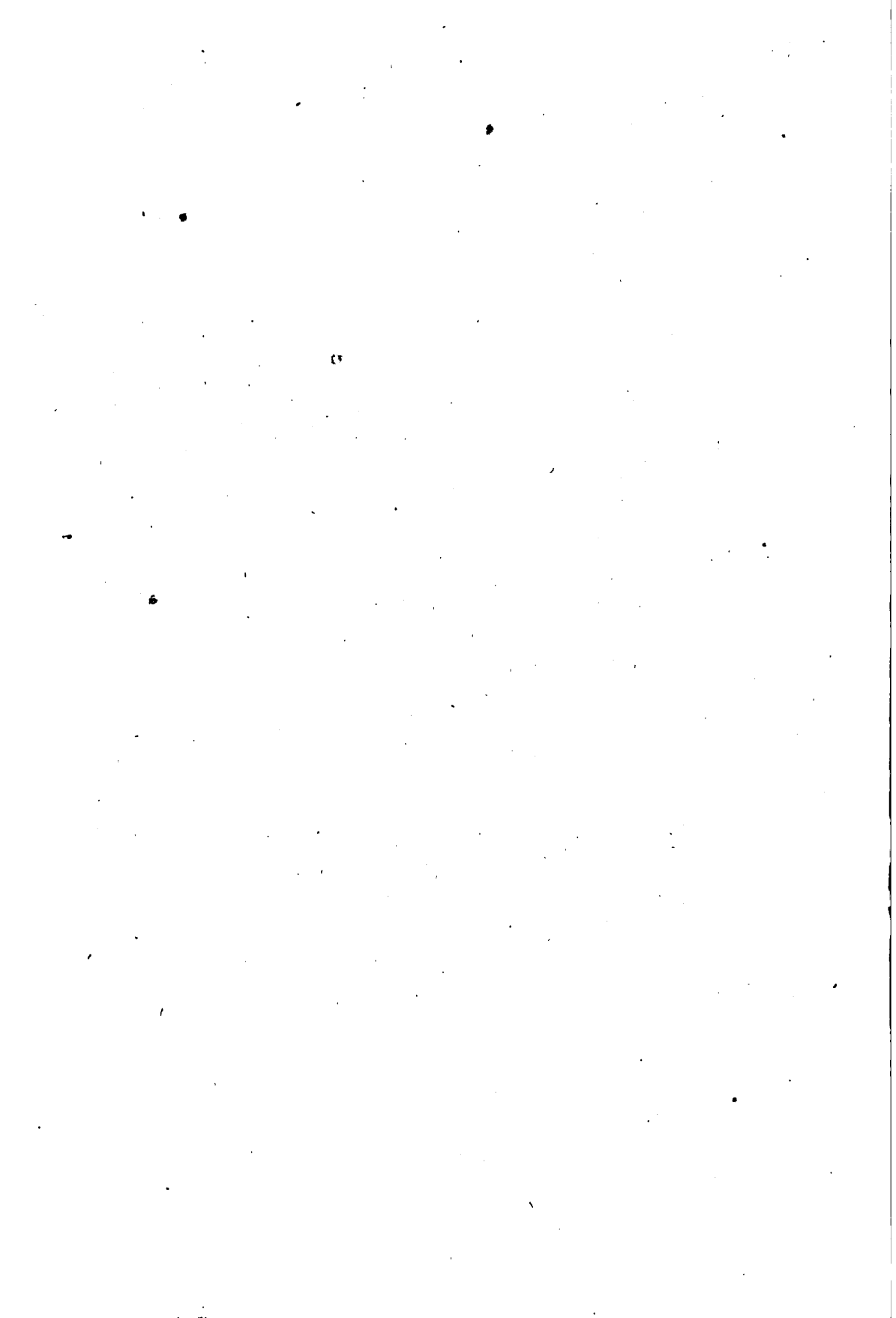
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SOURCES AND ANALOGUES OF "THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF." PART I

INTRODUCTION

Of the numerous poems erroneously attributed to Chaucer, probably the best-known, and certainly one of the best, is *The Flower and the Leaf*.¹ It first appeared in Speght's folio of 1598, and was regularly reprinted with Chaucer's *Works* until 1878. During this period, owing partly, no doubt, to the modernization by Dryden,² the poem was usually regarded as one of Chaucer's most characteristic and charming pieces. Keats wrote a sonnet about it; Scott, Campbell, Irving, Mrs. Browning, were all fond of it; the editors of selections from Chaucer reprinted it; Taine quoted from it to illustrate Chaucer's most notable merits.³ Now, however, the question of Chaucerian authorship must be regarded as settled adversely,⁴ for reasons which need not be repeated here. In this investigation it is taken for granted that

¹ Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces* (Clarendon Press, 1897), pp. 361-79. References will be to this edition.

² *Fables*, 1700.

³ It may be of interest to indicate the vogue of the poem by the following specific references: Warton, *History of English Poetry* (1774-81); see Index in Hazlitt ed. (1871). Godwin, *Life of Chaucer* (2d ed., 1804), Vol. III, pp. 249 ff. Todd, *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer* (1810), pp. 275 ff. Scott, *Rokeby* (1813), Canto VI, xxvi. Keats, *Sonnet Written on a Blank Space at the End of Chaucer's Tale of "The Floure and the Lefe"* (1817). T. Campbell, *Specimens of the British Poets* (1819), Vol. I, pp. 70 ff.; Vol. II, p. 17. Irving, *Sketch Book* (1819), "Rural Life in England." S. W. Singer, "Life of Chaucer," in *The British Poets* (Chiswick, 1822), Vol. I, pp. xvi, xvii, xxi. Hazlitt, *Select Poets of Great Britain* (1826), p. ix; *Farewell to Essay Writing* (1828). Clarke, *The Riches of Chaucer* (2d ed., 1835), Vol. I, pp. 52 ff. E. B. Browning, *The Book of the Poets* (1842). H. Reed, *Lectures on English Literature* (1855), p. 136. Sandras, *Étude sur Chaucer* (1859), pp. 95 ff. G. P. Marsh, *Origin and History of the English Language* (1863), p. 414. Taine, *History of English Literature* (1864-65), Book I, chap. iii, 3. Minto, *Characteristics of the English Poets* (1874), p. 15. Ward, *Chaucer*, in "English Men of Letters" series (1879), chaps. i, iii. Engel, *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 74. Bierbaum, *History of the English Language and Literature* (1895), p. 34. Filon, *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (2d ed., 1896), p. 54. Palgrave, *Landscape in Poetry* (1897), p. 122. Gosse, *Modern English Literature* (1898), p. 44. Saintsbury, *Short History of English Literature* (1898), pp. 119, 120. There are also nineteenth century modernizations by Lord Thurlow and Powell, and a French translation by Chatelain.

⁴ By ten Brink, *Chaucer Studien* (1870), pp. 156 ff.; Skeat, Introduction to Bell's Chaucer (1878), and *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. lxi ff.; Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer* (1892), Vol. I, pp. 489 ff. As is well known, Tyrwhitt first expressed doubt of Chaucer's authorship (1775), but his suggestion was hardly taken seriously for nearly a century.

the author was an imitator of Chaucer, writing during the first half-century or so after his master's death.¹

The plan of treatment adopted for study of the sources and analogues of the poem is as follows:

1. The central allegory of the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf.
2. The accessories of the central allegory: the significance of the white and green costumes, and the chaplets of leaves and flowers; the choice of the nightingale and the goldfinch as singers for the Leaf and the Flower respectively; the cult of the daisy, and so forth.
3. The general setting and machinery of the poem; its relations to other vision poems with the springtime setting.
4. Conclusion as to the most influential sources.

SYNOPSIS OF THE POEM

The following summary of the action of *F. L.*² will be useful:

¹I say *his* because, although the poem purports to be by a woman, there is no adequate reason for assuming that it is by a woman. I hope to show in a later article that Professor Skeat's theory of common authorship of *The Flower and the Leaf* and *The Assembly of Ladies* is untenable, and that various striking resemblances of the former to the work of Lydgate suggest that he may have been the author.

²In the course of this article abbreviations will be used as follows:

- A. G.* = *Assembly of Gods*, attributed to Lydgate, E. E. T. S.
- A. L.* = *Assembly of Ladies*, pseudo-Chaucerian poem.
- A. Y. L. I.* = *As You Like It*.
- B. D.* = Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*.
- B. K.* = Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight*.
- C. A.* = Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.
- C. B.* = Lydgate's *Chori and the Bird*.
- C. L.* = *The Court of Love*, pseudo-Chaucerian poem.
- C. N.* = *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*, pseudo-Chaucerian poem.
- C. O.* = *Debat du Coer et de l'Oeil*.
- C. T.* = Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.
- Chansons* = *Chansons du XV^{me} siècle*, Société des Anciens Textes Français.
- E. E. T. S. = Early English Text Society.
- F. L.* = *The Flower and the Leaf*.
- Fabel* = *Fabel des Dieux d'Amours*.
- L. G. W.* = Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*.
- M. M.* = *Measure for Measure*.
- M. P.* = Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, ed. Halliwell, Percy Society.
- Night.* = Lydgate's *Two Nightingale Poems*, E. E. T. S.
- P. F.* = Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*.
- R. R.* = *Roman de la Rose*.
- R. S.* = Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*, E. E. T. S.
- S. T. S. = Scottish Text Society.
- T. C.* = Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*.
- T. G.* = Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, E. E. T. S.
- Thebes* = Lydgate's *Story of Thebes*.
- Venus* = *De Venus la Deesse d'Amor*.

Very early on a May morning, when the spring growth is at its height, the poet, represented as a woman to whom sleep is "ful unmete," goes forth to a pleasant grove of oaks set out at regular intervals. With joy she hears the birds sing, and listens especially, though at first in vain, for the nightingale. Soon she finds a narrow path, overgrown with grass and weeds, which leads to a pleasant "herber," terraced with fresh grass and surrounded by a hedge of sycamore and sweet-scented eglantine. This hedge is so thick that anyone outside cannot see in, though one inside can see out. Beside the arbor is a beautiful medlar tree, in which a goldfinch leaps from bough to bough, eating buds and blossoms and singing merrily. Opposite this is a laurel tree, which gives out healing odors like the eglantine, and within whose branches a nightingale sings even more ravishingly than the goldfinch. The poet is delighted with the spot, which seems like an earthly paradise, and sits down on the grass to listen to the birds.

Soon she hears voices like those of angels, and in a moment a "world of ladies" come out of a grove near by, singing sweetly and dancing, under the leadership of the most beautiful member of the company. All are brilliantly arrayed in surcoats of white velvet set with precious stones. They are soon followed by a "rout" of men at arms, also clad in white, with decorations of cloth of gold. Both men and women wear chaplets of leaves—laurel, woodbine, hawthorn, *agnus castus*. After the knights have jousted with one another, they join the ladies in doing obeisance before the laurel tree. Then come from an adjacent field the adherents of the Flower—knights and ladies hand in hand, clad in green and wearing chaplets of flowers. This company go dancing into a mead, where they kneel before a tuft of blossoms while one of their number sings a "bargaret" in praise of the daisy. Soon, however, the heat of noon withers the flowers and burns the ladies and their knights; a wind blows down the flowers; and hail and rain bedraggle the company. Meanwhile those in white beneath the laurel tree are unharmed by the elements, and, when they perceive the plight of the others, go to their aid and kindly entertain them. Then the nightingale flies from the laurel tree to the lady of the Leaf, Diana, and the gold-

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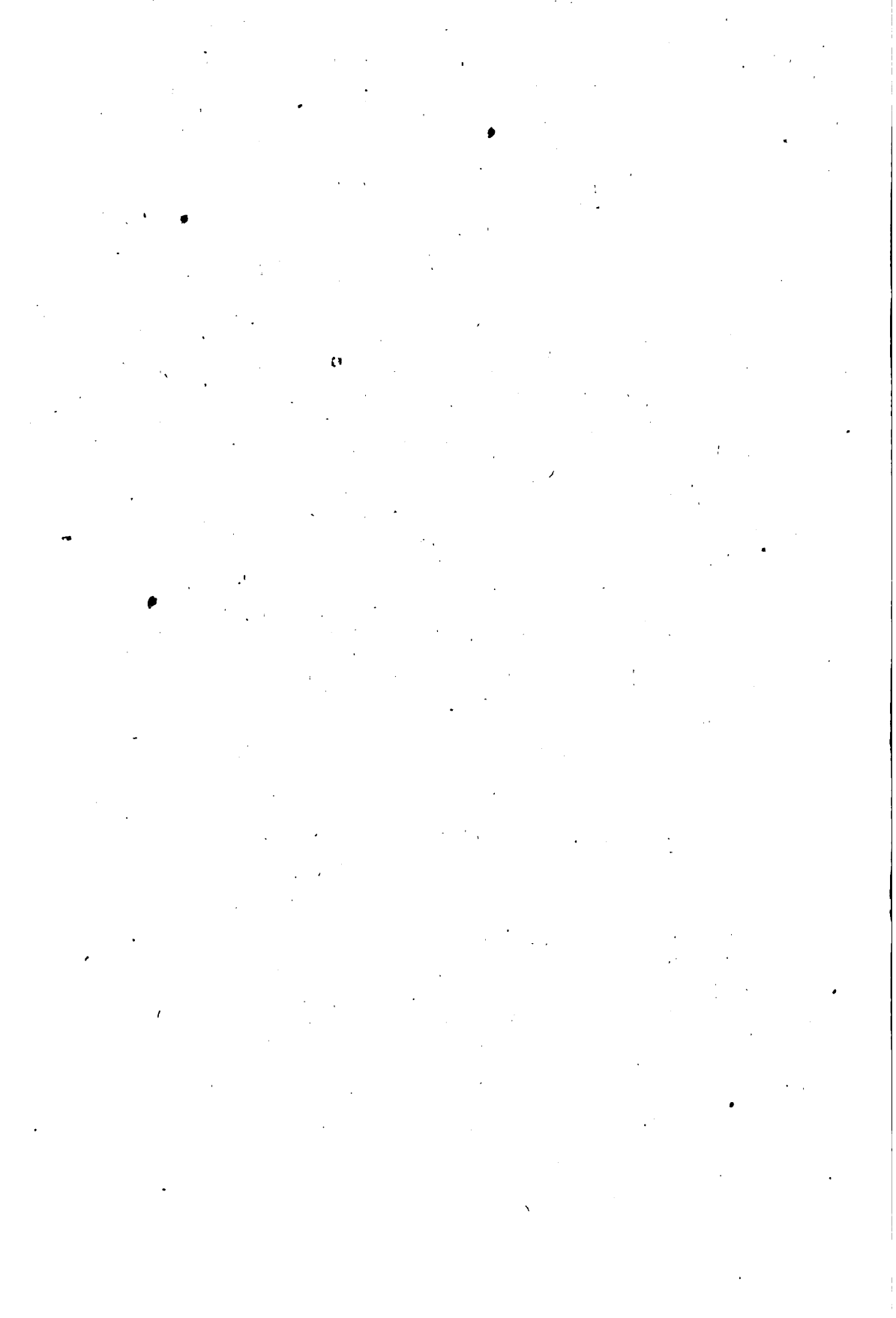
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Dessoubz li vont cerfs, bisches et chevriaux
 Sanglers et dains, connins et laperiaux,
 Tous les deduis que par le bos querons,
 Fueille en lorier, de houx, jardins, preaux;
 Pour ce a fueille plus qu'a fleur nous tenons. 50

L'ENVOY

Royne sur fleurs en vertu demourant,
 Galoys d'Aunoy, Mornay Pierre ensement
 De Tremoille, li borgnes Porquerons,
 Et d'Araynes Lyonnet vont loant,
 Et Thuireval vostre bien qui est grant;
 Pour ce a fueille plus qu'a fleur nous tenons.

It is obvious that the foregoing poems are of very unequal value, so far as any possible relation with *F. L.*, or any influence upon it, is concerned. The rondeau (III), indeed, may be disregarded altogether. It is merely a personal tribute, couched in language more naturally applied to a woman, but in this case apparently intended for a woman to send to a man, since Hélión de Naillac was councilor and chamberlain of King Charles VI of France.¹ A personal compliment, also, to Philippa of Lancaster, is the chief burden of the second ballade, in favor of the Flower (II); which, however, is of considerably greater value to us than the rondeau, because it specifically declares that the poet has heard of the existence, in French amorous law, of Orders of the Flower and the Leaf. Though here said to be orders of women, they apparently did not exclude men from membership, for in both the second and the third ballades (II and IV) we find the names of men belonging to the orders.

The first and last ballades, then, are of most interest to us, because they present clear-cut arguments in favor, respectively, of the flower and the leaf. In the first the poet says that, though the verdure of the leaf gives pleasure to the hearts of true lovers,² and moves the birds to sing sweetly,³ and though the leaf lasts during a season,⁴ yet, because its beauty is nothing, he prefers the flower; for the beauty and color and odor of the flower, and the

¹ Raynaud, *Œuvres de Deschamps*, Vol. X, p. 215; Kittredge, *Modern Philology*, Vol. I, p. 5.

² Cf. I, 5-6; II, 8; IV, 8, 27; *F. L.*, 485, 486, 551-54.

³ Cf. I, 7; IV, 7; *F. L.*, 447, 448.

⁴ Cf. I, 8; IV, 25, 26; *F. L.*, 551-56.

fruit that comes from it, make it of much greater value than the leaf, which has none of these good qualities, but is worthless except to protect the flower from rain and wind.¹ Because of the side taken in I and II, the argument is of course directly opposed to that in *F. L.*; yet it is surprising how many of the points made in favor of the leaf are suggested here—its pleasant verdure and enduring quality, its influence on birds and true lovers, and the protection it affords the flower against storms of various kinds. Indeed, there is little else but elaboration of these points in the long ballade in favor of the leaf (IV). The flower, we are told, springs from the leaf and depends upon it for nourishment. If a little wind comes, the flower loses its color and falls without producing fruit; but the leaf never dies. Instead, it always remains green and fresh and "loyal," protecting those in its shadow from the heat, and healing those who have been sick.²

Thus we see that there are found in these ballades of Deschamps nearly all the arguments of our poem based upon the physical characteristics of the flower and the leaf. The attribution of analogous mental and moral characteristics to the members of the respective orders, however, is not even hinted at by Deschamps. Nevertheless, such similarity of thought and expression as we have found, especially between the third stanza of Ballade IV and the accounts of the storm in *F. L.*, can hardly be accounted for except by actual influence of Deschamps on the English poet, or joint indebtedness of both to a common source not now known.

CHARLES D'ORLEANS' MENTION OF THE ORDERS

Some time during his imprisonment in England from 1415 to 1440, Charles d'Orleans wrote the following ballades:³

POÈME DE LA PRISON

Ballade LXI

Le premier jour du mois de May,
Trouvé me suis en compaignie
Qui estoit, pour dire le vray,

¹ Cf. I, 24-27; II, 28, 29; IV, 16, 31-30; *F. L.*, 354-78, 551-65. ² Cf. IV, 31, 32; *F. L.*, 407-13.

³ See *Poésies*, ed. d'Hericault (Paris, 1896); Vol. I, pp. 79 ff. So far as I am aware, these poems have not been previously mentioned in print in connection with *F. L.* My attention was called to them by Professor John M. Manly.

De gracieuseté garnie;
 Et, pour oster merencolie,
 Fut ordonné qu'on choisiroit,
 Comme fortune donneroit,
 La fueille plaine de verdure,
 Ou la fleur pour toute l'année;
 Si prins le fueille pour livrée,
 Comme lors fut mon aventure. 10

Tantost après je m'avisay
 Qu'à bon droit l'avoye choisie
 Car, puis que par mort perdu ay
 La fleur, de tous biens enrichie,
 Qui estoit ma Dame, m'amie,
 Et qui de sa grace m'amoit
 Et pour son amy me tenoit,
 Mon cueur d'autre flour n'a pas cure;
 Adonc cogneu que me pensée 20
 Acordoit à ma destinée,
 Comme fut lors mon aventure.

Pource, le fueille porteray
 Cest an, sans que point je l'oublie;
 Et à mon pover me tendray
 Entierement de sa partie;
 Je n'ay de nulle flour envie,
 Porte la qui porter la doit,
 Car la fleur, que mon cueur amoit
 Plus que nulle autre créature, 30
 Est hors de ce monde passée,
 Qui son amour m'avoit donnée,
 Comme lors fut mon aventure.

ENVOI

Il n'est fueille, ne fleur qui dure
 Que pour un temps, car esprouvée
 J'ay la chose que j'ay contée
 Comme lors fut mon aventure.

Ballade LXII

Le lendemain du premier jour de May,
 Dedens mon lit ainsi que je dormoye,
 Au point du jour, m'avint que je songay
 Que devant moy une fleur je véoye
 Qui me disoit: Amy, je me souloye
 En toy fier, car pieçà mon party

Tu tenoies, mais mis l'as en oubly,
En soustenant la fueille contre moy;
J'ay merueille que tu veulx faire ainsi
Riens n'ay meffait, se pense je, vers toy. 10

Tout esbahy alors je me trouway,
Si respondy, au mieulx que je savoye:
Tresbelle fleur, onques je ne pensay
Faire chose qui desplaire te doye:
Se, pour esbat, Aventure m'envoye
Que je serve le fueille cest an cy,
Doy je pour tant estre de toy banny?
Nennil certes, je fais comme je doy
Et se je tiens le party qu'ay choisy,
Riens n'ay meffait, ce pense je, vers toy. 20

Car non pour tant, honneur te porteray
De bon vouloir, quelque part que je soye,
Tout pour l'amour d'une fleur que j'amay
Ou temps passé. Dieu doint que je la voye
En Paradis, après ma mort, en joye;
Et pource, fleur, chierement je te pry,
Ne te plains plus, car cause n'as pourquoy,
Puis que je fais ainsi que tenu suy,
Riens n'ay meffait, ce pense je, vers toy.

ENVOI

Le verité est telle que je dy, 30
J'en fais juge Amour, le puissant Roy;
Tresdoulce fleur, point ne te cry mercy,
Riens n'ay meffait, se pense je, vers toy.

These two poems clearly have no close relation to *F. L.* They may be earlier than it is, but there are no such resemblances of thought and expression as to indicate that our author knew them; or, conversely, that the Duke of Orleans knew the English poem. The most that can be said of them is that they appear to be based upon the same amorous strife, which they connect with the celebration of the first of May by a well-dressed company whose members—"pour oster merencolie"—decide to choose the leaf or the flower as livery for the whole year. This poet chooses the leaf, not because of any such moral superiority as it symbolizes in *F. L.*, nor even because of the greater durability and usefulness which are emphasized in the last ballade

from Deschamps; but because since his lady's death he cares for no flower but her. And he comes to the melancholy conclusion that neither leaf nor flower lasts more than a short time.

DOES GOWER MENTION THE ORDERS?

It seems generally to have been taken for granted that Gower refers to the strife of the Flower and the Leaf in the description, in the eighth book of the *Confessio Amantis*, of Cupid and his "parlement"

Of gentil folk that whilom were
Lovers.¹

This company are crowned with

Garlandes noight of o color,
Some of the lef, some of the flour,
And some of grete Perles were.

It is, of course, probable that the author of *F. L.* knew this passage from *C. A.*; partly because of the resemblances pointed out by Professor Skeat, and partly because a fifteenth-century English writer of the school of Chaucer could hardly have been ignorant of Gower's great English poem. And it must be admitted as quite possible that Gower had the strife of Flower and Leaf in mind. Yet the last line quoted above seems to preclude the idea of a twofold division in Gower's company, and suggests the probability that the reference is merely to the common custom of wearing garlands, generally of leaves and flowers, at the springtime celebrations.² Such a company as that described by Gower is regularly met in Court of Love poems,³ and garlands are part of its regular attire. Professor Skeat zealously attempts to show greater resemblance between Gower and *F. L.* by skipping a number of pages to

The grene lef is overthrowe,

and the following lines,⁴ which he compares with *F. L.*, ll. 358-64,

¹ See Skeat's *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. lxviii-ix; Gower's *Complete Works*, ed. Macaulay, Vol. III, p. 546; Kittredge in *Modern Philology*, Vol. I, p. 2. Gower's mention of garlands of the flower and the leaf was first noticed by Warton, *History of English Poetry*, sec. 19; ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, p. 81. The passage in Gower is Book VIII, ll. 2457 ff.

² See pp. 153-57 below.

³ See W. A. Neilson's "Origins and Sources of The Court of Love," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. VI (1899), chap. iii, *passim*.

⁴ *C. A.*, Book VIII, ll. 2884 ff.

where the overthrow of the followers of the Flower is described. Any such comparison is entirely unjustifiable, however, as the passage in *C. A.* is merely part of a rehearsal of the progress of the seasons, and has no reference whatever to the leaves which the gentlefolks of Cupid's company wore.

COMPARISONS OF FLOWER AND LEAF

One other alleged reference to the strife of the Flower and the Leaf requires brief mention. It is discussed in an article by Professor C. F. McClumpha,¹ calling attention to Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise* as a possible model for *F. L.* Deschamps, says Mr. McClumpha, "attaches a brief comparison of the flower and the leaf," and the author of the English poem, beginning with the same personages, preserves the allegory. This is a singular error; for, though Deschamps indulges in a good deal of compliment to an unnamed feminine flower, who is compared with the daisy, he nowhere even mentions the leaf or hints at the strife of the Flower and the Leaf. The word *feuille* does not occur in the poem, except as applied (in l. 45) to the petals of the flower; and there is not the remotest suggestion of an allegory of the Flower and the Leaf.²

An obscure comparison of the flower and the leaf is found in a short Picard poem of the thirteenth century,³ which it seems desirable to quote in full:

L'HONNEUR ET L'AMOUR

Qui de .II. biens le millour⁴
Laist, encontre sa pensée,
Et prent pour li le piour
Bien croi que c'est esp[ro]vée
Très-haute folour.
Cause ai d'avoir mon penser
A ce que serve ai esté
Ai et sui de vrai ami

¹ *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. IV (1889), cols. 402 ff.

² Deschamps' poem is of some importance, however, in relation to the general setting and machinery of *F. L.*, and will therefore be considered further in chap. iii of this investigation.

³ See "Fragment d'une Anthologie Picarde," ed. A. Boucherie, *Revue des Langues Romanes*, Vol. III (1872), pp. 311 ff. The poem cited is on pp. 321, 322.

⁴ Cf. Deschamps' Ballade I, p. 126 above.

Sage, courtois, bien secré,
 G[ou]vrené par meureté, 10
 Et gentil, preu et hardi,
 Et qui sur tous a m'amour.
 Dont sui souvent eno[rée]
 D'autrui amer, sans secour.
 Mais pour mon mieuls sui donnée,
 S'en ferai demour.

Lasse! il m'est trop mal tourné
 A dolour et à grieté,
 Quant je ai si mal parti
 Qu'il me faut cont[re] mon gré, 20
 Par droite necessité,
 De corps eslongier cheli
 A qui m'otroi sans folour,
 Et sans estre a voée [supply lui?]
 De coer; mais c'est vains labours,
 Car tant ne doit estre amée
 Foelle con la flours.

Or m'ont amours assené;
 Mais, si c'à leur volenté,
 Est mieuls qu'il n'affier à mi. 30
 Tous jours doi av[oir] fondé
 Mon desir sur loiaulté,
 En espoir d'amour garni.
 Car tout passe de valour,
 Chus dont s[ui en] amourée,
 D'un si gratieux retour.
 Sage doi estre avisée,
 Se j'ai chier m'onnour.

M. Boucherie's comment on this poem is as follows (p. 313):

Dans *l'Honneur et l'Amour*, vrai bijou de versification, la femme aimée se résigne, non sans lutte, à tenir "éloigné de son corps" celui qu'elle préfère. Sans doute l'effort est pénible, mais elle doit mettre l'honneur au-dessus de l'amour, "car," dit-elle avec un rare bonheur d'expression,

"Car tant ne doit estre amée
 Foelle con la flours."

This implied connection of the leaf with love, the flower with honor, is rather puzzling,¹ and I have not found anything like it

¹ Another possible interpretation seems to be that this mistress, plain in comparison with another, cannot expect to be loved like the other, the flower.

elsewhere. Whatever the precise origin and meaning of the comparison, however, there does not appear to be reference to any such thing as the later strife of the Flower and the Leaf. The poem is of interest only because of this early setting-off of the one against the other.

In a great many other cases there is mention of flowers and leaves together;¹ but they are merely part of the natural background, and the juxtaposition seems without significance. The only example worth quoting is from Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*,² ll. 3900-2, about the trees in the garden of Deduit, which nature sustains:

Ay tendre, fresh, and grene,
Ageyn thassaut of al[le] shours
Both of levys and of flours.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF

Reference to the characteristics of the flower and the leaf that are emphasized in our poem—the perishable nature of the one and the comparative permanence of the other—is frequently found.

Thus in a chanson of Gonthier de Soignies, of the thirteenth century, we are told that

Pucele est con flors de rose,
Qui tost vient et tost trespasse.¹

In Jean de Condé's *Dis de l'Entendement*:

eurs del monde et richesce

 Ressamble la flour qui tost sesce
 Et poi en sa biauté demeure,
 Qu'ele chiet et faut en une heure.⁴

¹ As, for example, in Mahn, *Gedichte der Troubadours*, Nos. lxxiii-iv, ciii, ccii, ccxxi, ccxxviii, cclxxxiii, ccccxv, dxxiv, dlxiv, dxcv, etc. The list might be greatly prolonged, if necessary, from nearly all kinds of mediæval poetry in various languages.

² Ed. Sieper, E. E. T. S. (1901-3).

³ *Trouvères Belges* (Nouvelle Série), ed. A. Scheler (Louvain, 1879), p. 29, ll. 43, 44.

⁴*Dits et contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son Fils Jean de Condé*, ed. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1866-67), Vol. III, p. 92, ll. 1417 ff.

Lydgate several times comments on the transitoriness of the flower in a way that strikingly suggests *F. L.* Thus in *Beware of Doubteness*¹ he declares ironically that because

these fresshe somer-floures
Whyte and rede, blewe and grene,
Ben sodainly, with winter-shoures,
Mad feinte and fade, withoute wene,

therefore there is no trust or steadfastness in anything but women. Another ballade of Lydgate's has the refrain:

All stant on chaunge like a mydsomer rose;²

in still another he describes how "Alcestis flour" "in stormys dreepithe;"³ and in *R. S.* beauty is compared to a rose that fades with a storm.⁴ In Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*⁵ is the line:

Nocht is your fairnes bot ane faiding flour.

Other references could be made, were an exhaustive list necessary.

On the other hand, the enduring quality of certain kinds of leaves, including the laurel, the oak, and the hawthorn, is made prominent in Chaucer's *P. F.*, ll. 173 ff., and in Lydgate's *T. G.*,⁶ ll. 503-16. In the latter passage a beautiful lady is advised to be "unchanging like these leaves [hawthorn], which no storm can kill."

It should also be noted that in *R. R.*, buds are preferred to blown roses because of their greater durability⁷—a reason sufficiently similar to that for the preference of leaf over flower to be of interest.

THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF AS SYMBOLS

The use of the flower and the leaf as symbols is paralleled in a rather interesting way in Christine de Pisan's *Dit de la Rose*,⁸ which tells of the formation of the "Ordre de la Rose" for the purpose of guarding "la bonne renommée . . . de dames en toute chose." This poem is, as the editor says,⁹ "en quelque

¹ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 291 ff.

² *M. P.*, ed. Halliwell, Percy Society, Vol. II (1840), pp. 22 ff.

³ *M. P.*, p. 161.

⁴ Ll. 6210-16.

⁵ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 327 ff., l. 461.

⁶ Ed. Schick, E. E. T. S., 1891.

⁷ Ll. 1653 ff., Vol. I, p. 54, Michel ed.

⁸ *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Roy (Société des Anciens Textes Français), Vol. II, pp. 29 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. x.

sort le couronnement de la polémique de Christine contre l'œuvre de Jean de Meun" in satire of woman. The order is formed at the suggestion of the "dame et deesse de Loyauté" (ll. 90, 91), who comes directly from the God of Love. The symbolism of the flower is more like that of the leaf in our poem, for the poet is the friend of Diana (l. 279). The rose is evidently chosen because of the controversy relating to *R. R.*, and there is no reference to any symbolism previously attached to that or any other flower.

Mention should also be made, in this connection, of the well-known *Jeux Floraux* of Toulouse, established in 1324 by seven Provençal troubadours, for the purpose of fostering the "gay science" of poetry. Though it is possible that the author of *F. L.* had never even heard of this southern organization, the name, the floral emblems given to winners of prizes, and the date each year on which the *jeux* occurred—May 3—are all of interest as evidence of the way in which flowers were used as symbols in connection with observances of the springtime.

THE MORAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ALLEGORY

The contrast between the adherents of the Leaf and of the Flower in our poem is not quite clear-cut. Too many different sorts of people are included in the company of the Leaf, and the characterization of the company of the Flower is too general. Yet the dominant ideas—serious achievement and steadfastness on the one hand, idleness and frivolity on the other—are plain enough, and are expressed elsewhere in ways of some interest to us.

Thus it is of value to examine somewhat in detail the plan and purpose of *Le livre des cent-ballades*.¹ A young man, riding between Pont-de-Cé and Angers, meets an old man, who, suspecting the young man of being a lover, asks him whether he intends always to be loyal in love and brave in war, and to observe the rules of French chivalry. The young man promises, and pursues his journey till he meets a company of young knights and ladies disporting in a meadow watered by the Loire. He avoids the crowd and proceeds to the river-bank to watch the fish; but

¹ Ed. de Queux de Saint Hilaire (Paris, 1868).

is perceived by one of the youngest and merriest ladies of the company, who seeks him out and unasked gives "conseils d'amour léger, d'amour volage, bien différents des austères et vigoureuses leçons qui vient de lui donner le vieux chevalier."¹ The young man says he prefers to be loyal, and, in answer to the lady's question where he received such advice, tells her of the old man whom he had met. She proposes then that they submit to certain chevaliers renowned both in love and war the question:

Qui plus grant
Joie donne & plus entière,
Loiauté, ou faux semblant
En amant.

He prefers to make the issue squarely as to the relative value or success in love of loyalty or falsity; but she demands that they ask of the judges only if they think—

Qu'estre secret & plaisant,
Pourchacant
En mains lieux joie plénière,
Ne soit fait de vray amant.

The terms are finally agreed upon, and the question is submitted, with the result that nine out of twelve answers received, purporting to come from some of the most famous men of the time (not far from 1390), favor loyalty.

There is, to be sure, in the foregoing no mention of regular orders, with symbolic attire and decorations, and the strife is more specific and narrower in range than that of *F. L.*; but the resemblance is noteworthy nevertheless. As Professor Neilson says: "In this book we have very clearly opposed two different ideals of love,"² the old ideal of Ovid and his imitators, and a newer and nobler ideal not so frequently expressed. Such a contrast is suggested, however, in the nightingale's complaint of the degeneracy of love in *Fablel* and *Venus*,³ and was definitely made long before the latter part of the fourteenth century; for instance, in a Provençal poem mentioned by Professor Rajna,⁴ in which we find "l'Amor Fino o Verace, antagonista dell' Amor Falso."

¹ Editor's Introduction, p. viii.

² P. 162 below.

³ *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, p. 198.

⁴ *Le corti d'amore* (Milano, 1890), p. 23.

The conflict in *F. L.*, however, is not primarily or chiefly a love conflict. In some ways it more closely resembles that between Reason and Sensuality in Lydgate's amplification of *Les Echees Amoureux*,¹ chiefly because Sensuality causes men to be

Ful of plesaunce and fals delyte (801)
And of fleshly appetyte.

Still more interesting, in the same poem, is the rivalry of Diana and Venus. The poet meets the former in her evergreen forest of chastity. She is clad in white, ornamented with pearls, and wears a golden crown. She bewails the change from the days when she was more highly regarded than Venus, and love was pure and faithful. She particularly detests "Ydelnesse," the porter of the garden of Deduit, Venus' son; and warns the poet at great length against the idle pleasures of this garden. In almost every way² the subjects of Venus and Cupid in the garden of Deduit resemble the frivolous company of the Flower. And though Diana has no company here, she bewails the loss of followers who either in chastity or steadfastness were like some of the groups in the company of the Leaf. Practically the only inconsistency is that Diana, as in classical mythology, spends her time hunting (to avoid idleness, she says, l. 3000); whereas in *F. L.* excessive love of hunting is one of the things condemned. The pleasures of the garden of Deduit, to be sure, do not differ materially from pleasures described in *R. R.* and other poems of its class; but there is nowhere else, so far as I have discovered, so important a contrast of the two ways of life contrasted in *F. L.*

ORDERS IN THE AMOROUS LAW

The fact that this conflict between two ways of life is attached, in *F. L.*, to orders mentioned by Deschamps as of the "amorous law," requires little comment. The origin and characteristics of this law have received such detailed treatment that repetition is unnecessary.³ Suffice it to say that during the Middle Ages there

¹ *R. S.*, ed. Sieper.

² See more detailed analysis in chap. iii below.

³ See especially P. Rajna, *Le corti d'amore* (Milano, 1890); E. Trojel, *Andreae Capellani Regii Francorum de Amore* (Copenhagen, 1892); J. F. Rowbotham, *The Troubadours and Courts of Love* (London, 1895); L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love* (Boston, 1896); W. A. Nellson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI; and various references given in the books just named.

did grow up—whether in actual practice or poetic fancy—an elaborate system of courtly love, formulated and celebrated in a long series of poems, with which ours is connected, not only by “the landscape, the costuming, and the rôle of the queens,”¹ but also by the fact that the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf were orders in the amorous law.² Mention has already been made of a slightly similar order of which a flower is used as the symbol.³ This “Ordre de la Rose” may have been only a poetical fancy; but in 1399 an “Ordre de la Dame Blanche à l’Escu Verd” was actually formed,⁴ and there is interesting record of a “Cour Amoureuse” of 1400.⁵

It is conceivable that the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf did not actually exist, since literary influence may account for all definite mention we have of them. Chaucer and Deschamps knew some, at least, of each other’s writings,⁶ and Charles d’Orleans and the author of *F. L.* in all probability knew both Chaucer and Deschamps. Yet the manner in which all the writers speak of the contrasted orders is hard to reconcile with anything but their actual existence in connection with the observance of May Day. Chaucer’s reference, as already pointed out,⁷ seems to imply that the orders were not very old when he was writing the Prologue to *L. G. W.* (about 1385–86). Deschamps, too, writing about the same time, says, “I have heard of two orders,” etc.;⁸ as if the information had recently come to him. Charles d’Orleans’ *Poème de la prison* cannot be later than 1440, and his reference to the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf is probably due to the recollection of May Day festivities in France before he was imprisoned in 1415. *F. L.* can hardly be dated later than 1450, and the various facts to be observed as to its apparent relations with early poems of Lydgate⁹ incline me to favor a somewhat early date. Thus it seems probable that Orders of the Flower and the Leaf existed as a part of the observance of May Day, according to the “amorous law,” in portions of both France and England, some

¹ Neilson, p. 150.

² Deschamps’ Ballade II, p. 127 above.

³ P. 133 above.

⁴ To be discussed below, p. 153.

⁵ See A. Piaget, in *Romania*, Vol. XX, pp. 417 ff.; Vol. XXXI, pp. 597 ff.

⁶ See the articles of Kittredge and Lowes previously cited, p. 124 above.

⁷ P. 126 above.

⁸ Ballade II, p. 127 above.

⁹ See especially chap. iii below.

time during the period beginning not long before 1385 and ending before the middle of the following century. It is hardly probable that the orders were very important, however, or there would have been more frequent mention of them than we find.

CHAPTER II. THE ACCESSORIES OF THE ALLEGORY

A number of the details of *F. L.*, as to costumes, chaplets, birds, trees, and so forth, are clearly symbolic in relation to the central allegory.

THE COSTUMES—WHITE AND GREEN

The costumes are, we have noted, white and green—white for the adherents of the Leaf, green for the adherents of the Flower. At first this reversal of an apparently natural choice may seem strange, for the daisy—the flower here worshiped—is white, and the leaf is green; but when we remember that white is proverbially (and most naturally) the color of purity, the white attire of the chaste followers of the Leaf is at once seen to be appropriate.

The use of white as symbolic of purity is so common as scarcely to need comment: Thus Beatrice, when Dante sees her at the age of eighteen, is attired in white, "the hue of Faith and Purity."¹ Deschamps mentions the traditional interpretation of the color in his *Lay de Franchise*, l. 36, and his *Éloge d'une dame du nom de Marguerite*.² Christine de Pisan, in her *Dit de la Rose*,³ and Lydgate, in *R. S.*,⁴ represent Diana as clothed in white—Diana the goddess of purity and leader of the company of the Leaf. Especially interesting in this connection is another poem by Lydgate—*Pur le Roy*,⁵ an account of the entry of Henry VI into London in 1432, after his coronation in France.

The citezens eche one of the citee,
In her entent that thei were pure and clene,
Chees hem of white a full fayre lyveré,
In every craft as it whas wellle sene;

¹ Gardner, *Dante Primer* (1900), p. 46.

² *Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 203 ff.; Vol. III, pp. 379, 380, l. 7.

³ *Œuvres poétiques*, Vol. II, pp. 29 ff., ll. 279-81.

⁴ Ll. 2816, 2822-24.

⁵ *M. P.*, ed. Halliwell, pp. 1 ff. The same event is described in the *Chronicles*; see especially Gregory's, ed. Gairdner, *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* (Camden Society, 1876), pp. 173 ff.

To shew the trouthe that they did mene
Toward the Kyng, had made hem feithfully,
In sonderly devise embroudered richely.¹

On the bridge a tower was erected, from which issued three ladies representing Nature, Grace, and Fortune. On each side of these ladies were seven maidens—

Alle clad in white, in tokyn of clennes,
Lyke pure virginis as in ther ententis.²

But purity is not the only meaning attached by mediæval poets to white. The appropriateness of the color for the Nine Worthies, the *Douze Pairs*, the Knights of the Round Table and of the Garter,³ is indicated in the following lines from Watriquet de Couvin's *Dis des .VIII. Couleurs*:

Cils autres cuers de coragour, (206)
Cils visages simples dehors,
Qui n'espargne force ne cors
A biaux fais d'armes commencer,
Cils qui onques ne volt tencier
A honour, ainz le quiert touz diz
Simples est et douz et hardiz:
Il portera par sa samblance
L'argentée couleur très blanche,
Qui nous moustre en humilité
Hardye debonnaireté,
Aspreté, travail à suour,
Et criera par grant vigour
.I. cri courtois et deduisant:
"Clarté, clarté, du roy luisant!"⁴

A third symbolic meaning is given to white by Guillaume de Machaut, in his *Rémède de Fortune*,⁵ where we are told that the color signifies joy. A woman in white called Joye-sanz-fin appears in a poem attributed to Deschamps,⁶ who was, it will be remembered, a pupil of Machaut. Connected perhaps with this

¹ I emend Halliwell's bad punctuation.

² It seems worthy of note, by the way, that these virgins sang "Most aungelyk with hevenly armony" (p. 10). Cf. *F. L.*, 131-33.

³ *F. L.*, 504, 515, 516, 519.

⁴ *Dits* de Watriquet de Couvin, ed. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1868), pp. 311 ff.

⁵ *Œuvres choisies*, ed. Tarbé (Paris, 1840), pp. 83 ff.

⁶ *Œuvres* de Deschamps, ed. Raynaud, Vol. X, p. lxxxi.

interpretation are two references in Gaston Paris' collection of *Chansons du XV^{me} siècle*.¹ In chanson XLII the poet says he is too sad to sing—

Quant le Vaudevire est jus
Qui souloit estre jouyeulx,
Et blanche livrée porter,
Chascun ung blanc chapperon,²
Tout par bonne intencion
Noblement sans mal penser.

Somewhat similarly, in chanson LVI, Olivier Bachelin is addressed in the following terms:

Vous soulliés gaiment chanter
Et demener jouyeuse vie,
Et la blanche livrée porter
Par la pais de Normandie.

This "blanche livrée" was apparently the sign of some organization, but the editor of the *Chansons* gives no definite information about it. As Bachelin was the fifteenth-century Norman poet who wrote convivial songs called by the name of the valley (Vaudevire) where he lived, it seems hardly likely that the wearing of white livery in his time and by his merry companions has any relation to the wearing of white by the followers of the Leaf, in spite of the fact that ll. 11 and 12 of chanson XLII may reasonably be taken to imply either purity or steadfastness, or both. These chansons were probably later than *F. L.*, however, so that they interfere in no way with the conclusion that the use of white in our poem was entirely in accord with traditions prevalent at the time it was written.

There is abundant evidence that white was associated with the amorous law and its festivities. Thus in G. Villani's *Cronica*³ there is mention of the appearance—in Florence, June, 1283—of "una compagnia . . . di mille uomini o più, tutti vestiti di robe

¹ Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1875.

² In this connection may be mentioned Froissart's account of the "blans chaperons" of Ghent, 1379 (*Chroniques*, chaps. cccxlviii ff.; Berners' translation). I see no reason for suspecting any relation between these two kinds of "white hats," but they indicate how much was made of details of livery or uniform, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

³ Libro VII, cap. lxxxix; *Biblioteca classica italiana*, Secolo XIV, No. 21 (Trieste, 1857), Vol. I, p. 148.

bianche con uno signore detto dell' Amore." Similarly, in May, 1290, "more than a thousand persons, dressed in white, paraded the streets [of Florence again], guided by the 'Lord of Love.'"¹ In Jean de Condé's *Messe des Oisiaus*² white-clad canonessees present a love suit before Venus; and in Gower's *C. A.*³ a company of servants of love ride white horses and are clad in white and blue (the latter the regular color of constancy). In a popular chanson "la belle au jardin d'amour" is in white. Moreover, in a number of other cases, to be mentioned hereafter,⁴ white is associated with green in connection with love observances of various kinds.

These love observances took place most commonly during the month of May, in connection with more general celebrations of the return of spring, with which also white was sometimes associated, though, as will be seen shortly, far less frequently than green. One of Gower's French ballades,⁵ for instance, contains mention of the "blanche banere" of May. There is record of the custom, in Provence, on the first of May, of choosing "de jolies petites filles qu'on habille de blanc On l'appelle le *mayo*."⁷ Mannhardt⁸ also mentions the wearing of white costumes at May Day celebrations in various parts of Europe. The specific examples he gives are doubtless of a time much later than *F. L.*, but such customs are generally traditional and may be of very great antiquity.

As to the fundamental interpretation of green there is direct conflict: it means constancy and it means inconstancy. Deschamps, in his *Lay de Franchise* and in two ballades, "L'Ascension est la fête des dames" and "Éloge d'une dame du nom de Marguerite,"⁹ says green is the color of "fermeté" or of "seurté." In two of these cases, however, he is complimenting a woman represented as a daisy, and naturally has to give a complimentary meaning to

¹ Gardner, *Dante Primer*, p. 18.

² *Dits et contes*, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

³ Book IV, ll. 1305 ff. See further discussion of the story of Rosiphale, p. 106 below.

⁴ *Romania*, Vol. VII, p. 61.

⁵ Pp. 152, 153 below.

⁶ *Complete Works*, ed. Macaulay, Vol. I, p. 367, ballade xxxvii.

⁷ DeNore, *Coutumes, mythes et traditions des provinces de France* (Paris, 1846); quoted in deGubernatis, *La mythologie des plantes* (Paris, 1878-82), Vol. I, p. 227. See also Chambers' *Book of Days*, Vol. I, p. 579.

⁸ *Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme* (Berlin, 1875), p. 344.

⁹ *Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 208 ff., l. 35; Vol. III, pp. 307, 319.

the green stalk. In another ballade he writes more conventionally of blue as the color of "loyauté."¹ Yet there is evidence that his idea was not exceptional. For example, in a Middle English version of *Le Chastel d'Amour* are the following lines:

The grene colour bi the ground that wil so wele laste (403)
Is the treuthe of oure ladye that ay was stedefast;²

in the *Castle of Perseverance* Truth is represented as wearing a "sad-coloured green;"³ and in Lydgate's *Edmund and Fremund*⁴ we find the lines:

The wattry greene shewed in the Reynbowe
Off chastite disclosed his clenness.

Moreover, Chaucer has Alceste, the type of faithfulness, "clad in real habit grene,"⁵ and even Diana's statue in the *Knight's Tale*⁶ clothed "in gaude greene"—doubtless because she was a huntress.

The foregoing interpretation, however, is exceptional, and in most cases can be accounted for, as intimated, by special reasons governing each particular poem. By far the commoner meaning of green was inconstancy. For example, Machaut has a ballade with the refrain:

Au lieu de bleu se vestir de vert;⁷

and in his *Rémède de Fortune*,⁸ "vers" is said to signify "nouvelleté." Chaucer makes similar use of the color in the *Squire's Tale*,⁹ and Lydgate in the following lines of the *Falls of Princes*:

Watchet-blewe of feyned stedfastnes, . . .
Meint with light grene, for change and doublenes.¹⁰

¹ *Œuvres*, Vol. X, p. lix.

² Robert Grosseteste's *Chastel d'Amour* (*Castel of Love*), ed. Hupe; *Anglia*, Vol. XIV, pp. 415 ff.

³ See Schick's note on l. 299 of Lydgate's *T. G.*

⁴ In Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge (Heilbronn, 1891), pp. 376 ff.; part III, ll. 115, 116.

⁵ *L. G. W.*, Prologue B, l. 214. Alceste, it should be remembered, is a personification of the daisy, and the green habit represents the green stalk of the flower. Similarly in the *Second Nun's Prologue* (*C. T.*, G, 90), "green of conscience" is to be explained by the comparison with a lily.

⁶ *C. T.*, A, l. 2079.

⁷ *Œuvres choisies*, ed. Tarbé, pp. 55, 56. This poem is the original of Chaucer's *Ballade of Newe-Fangelnesse*, with its refrain,

In stede of blew, thus may ye were al grene. (*Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. I, p. 409.)

⁸ Tarbé, p. 84.

⁹ *C. T.*, F, ll. 646, 647.

¹⁰ Quoted by Professor Skeat in his note on Chaucer's *Anelida and Arcite*, l. 380 (*Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. I, p. 538); and by Professor Schick in the note referred to above, n. 3.

In *A. G.*,¹ too, Fortune's gown

was of gawdy grene chamelet
 Chaungeable of sondry dyuerse coloures
 To the condycyone accordyng of hyr shoures.

The use of green as an unlucky color in some of the *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*² is in harmony with the foregoing interpretation. The following lines, quoted by Child from William Black's *Three Feathers*, are of interest:

Oh green's forsaken,³
 And yellow's forsworn,
 And blue's the sweetest
 Color that's worn.

A third meaning of green—not inconsistent with inconstancy, however—is given in the following passage from Watrquet de Couvin's *Dit des .VIII. Couleurs*:⁴

Car couleurs verde senefie (227)
 Maniere cointe et envoisie:
 Affaitiez, cortois et mignos
 Et chantans comme uns roussignos,
 Ne ne doit fais d'armes douter,
 Que qu'il li doie au cors couster,
 Mais qu'il puist sa force emploier
 Par jouter et par tornoier,
 Et criera ce joli cri:
 "Verdure au riche roy joli!"

A similar interpretation is contained in the following lines from Barclay:

Mine habite blacke accordeth not with grene,
 Blacke betokeneth death as it is dayly sene;
 The grene is pleasour, freshe lust and iolite;
 These two in nature hath great diuersitie.⁵

¹Ed. Triggs (E. E. T. S., 1895), ll. 320-22.

²Ed. Child, Vol. II, pp. 181 ff., 512. It should be added, however, that in the great majority of cases in which green is mentioned in the ballads, no ill luck is implied. Green garments are very common—more common than any other kind. Some special uses of them will be mentioned below, pp. 149-52. In numerous other instances not mentioned, the color seems to be used simply because it is bright and pretty.

³It may be mentioned that in Elizabethan times to "give a woman a green gown" implied loss of chastity. See the *New English Dictionary*, under "Green."

⁴Already referred to, p. 144 above, n. 4.

⁵Prologue to *Egloges*, Spenser Society (1885), p. 2.

This passage is, of course, considerably later than *F. L.*; but a parallel contrast between black and green is implied by Lydgate's representation of himself, on a pilgrimage, as

In a cope of blacke, and not of grene.¹

In the ballads there is frequent mention of the "gay green,"² and the association of the color with the festivities of spring³ is in harmony with this interpretation.

Another use of green is as the color of hope,⁴ in *L'Amant Rendu Cordelier à l'Observance d'Amours*⁵—a meaning also given (along with others) in a passage quoted by Schick from Kindermann's *Teutscher Wolredner*.⁶ A similar idea seems to be at the bottom of the following lines from *La Panthère d'Amours*, by Nicole de Margival:⁷

Amans donques, qui l'esperance
De l'esmeraude et la puissance
Veult avoir, il doit estre vers, (1310)
C'est a dire qu'il ait devers
Ceulz qui bien aiment bon corage,
Et si doit metre son usage
En ceulz ensuivre et congnoistre
Qui se peinent d'amors acroistre;
Car les vers choses tousjors croissent,
Et les seches tousjors descroissent;
Et cil qui en verdeur se tiennent
A grace si tres grant en viennent (1320)
Que des bons, des biaux et des gens
Sont loé, et de toutes gens.

Such are the somewhat confusing interpretations of green that I have found—constancy, inconstancy, pleasure, hope.⁸ In a far

¹ Prologue to *Thebes*; text consulted, Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, p. 371.

² See Child, ballads 64 A, stanza 19; 125, stanzas 23, 35; 132, stanzas 3, 4, etc.

³ See pp. 150-53 below.

⁴ White also appears as the color of hope in various Dutch poems. See Seelmann's "Farbentracht," *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, Vol. XXVIII (1902), pp. 118 ff.

⁵ Attributed to Martial d'Auvergne; ed. Montaignon, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1881. See note on p. 111 of this edition. The poem is also found in *Les Arrêts d'Amours*, ed. Lenglet-Dufresnay (Amsterdam, 1731).

⁶ In the note already referred to, p. 147 above, n. 3.

⁷ Ed. Todd, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1883.

⁸ Professor Brandl (in Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, p. 663) mentions yet another meaning, in *Gawain and the Green Knight*—"die grüne Farbe des Friedens." This poem, however, seems to have no possible relation to *F. L.*

greater number of cases no specific meaning is given, but the color is associated with the light and frivolous pleasures of springtime and courtly love.¹ In astrology green was the color of Venus, and Venus was generally connected, as in the Tannhäuser legend, with the baser sort of love. Naturally, also, green costumes were worn at the festivities of May Day, in celebration of the renewal of nature's green. The following list will indicate how thoroughly in accord with tradition were the green costumes of the company of the Flower:

In *R. R.*, Oiseuse ("Ydelnesse"), who conducts the lover to the garden of Deduit, wears a dress of green; see l. 573 of the English version attributed to Chaucer.

The passage from *La Panthère d'Amours*, quoted on p. 149 above, associates the emerald and green with love.

A company of famous lovers in Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour* (see chap. iii below) are all clad in green.

In Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise* (ref. p. 148 above) a party of young men cutting foliage in observance of May are likewise "vestus de vert." See also ballade IV, p. 129 above, l. 35.

A ballade of Christine de Pisan (*Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 217), calling on lovers to rise and be joyful on May Day, contains the following lines:

Vestir de vert pour joye parfurnir,
A feste aler se dame le mandoit.

A lean chevalier, reciting the pains and troubles of lovers in Alain Chartier's *Debat des deux Fortunes d'Amours* (*Œuvres*, ed. DuChesne [Paris, 1617], p. 570), says that they often wear "cœur noircy . . . soubz robbe verte."

In the note already mentioned, on p. 111 of *L'Amant Rendu Corde-lier à l'Observance d'Amours*, the following lines from Charles d'Orleans and Bertrand des Marins are quoted:

Le verd je ne veux plus porter, [Charles d'Orleans]
Que est livrée aux amoureux.
La couleur verde est demonstrant [Bertrand des Marins]
Des femmes la plaisante face, de Masan in *Rousier*
Leur mine, aussi leur beau semblant, des *Dames*
Dont maint estime estre en leur grace.

In the Prologue to *Les Arrêts d'Amours*, by Martial d'Auvergne, "les déesses, . . . legistes, et clergesses qui sçavoient le decret par cœur," are all clad in green. This singular volume of burlesque decrees

¹The signification of green in the Dutch poems studied by Seelmann (n. 4, p. 149 above) is "Anfang de Liebe."

contains many other allusions to garments and decorations of green; most of them without significance, except as they show the great popularity of the color and its common association with the affairs of love.

In chanson XLIX (*Chansons du XV^{me} siècle*, ed. Paris); green is said to be the livery of lovers.

Chaucer's Alceste, who, as we have noted (p. 147 above), is clad in green, is led upon the scene by the King of Love, and represents in appearance a daisy, the flower which the green-clad followers of the Flower particularly worship. See *L. G. W.*, text B, ll. 213, 242, 303, 341.

Isis, in *A. G.*, (ll. 332-34), wears a gown "grene as any gresse in the somertyde."

Venus, in Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* (l. 221; *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 384), is dressed in green and black.

Malory describes a "mayng of Arthur's knights, all clad in green."

Rosiall and Lust, in *C. L.* (ll. 816, 1059; *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 431, 437), are clad in green.

In the May eclogue of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, "love-lads . . . girl in gawdy greene" are mentioned; and Lechery is given a green gown in *The Faerie Queene* (I, iv, 25).

In Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses* (ed. Furnivall, New Shakspeare Society, 1877-79, p. 147) we are told of the followers of the Lord of Misrule, clad in "liveries of greene, yellow, or some other light wanton color."

Shakspeare, in *Love's Labour's Lost* (I, ii, 90), mentions green as "the colour of lovers."

Green also was frequently associated with fairies and other supernatural creatures. In the ballad of Thomas Rhymer,¹ for instance, the queen of Elfland is attired in green. "The Wee Wee Man"² calls up a vision of twenty-four ladies in green, who dance "jimp and sma." A mermaiden in green entices Clerk Colvill away from his "gay ladie."³ And—to go somewhat afield into folklore—Mannhardt⁴ writes at great length of "Waldgeister" of various kinds clad in green.

Another extremely popular mediæval use of green was in connection with forestry and hunting.⁵ Robin Hood and his men regularly wore suits of green, and other "merry men," out-

¹ Child, ballad 87, Vol. I, pp. 323-26.

² *Ibid.*, 42, Vol. I, pp. 387-89.

³ *Ibid.*, 38, Vol. I, pp. 330-33.

⁴ *Der Baumkultus*, pp. 111, 117, etc.

⁵ Explained in an interesting way in the following passage, quoted in the *New English Dictionary* (under "Green") from Trevisa's translation of Bartholemew de Glanville's *De Proprietatibus Rerum*: "Hunters clothe themself in grene for the beest lounth kyndely grene colours."

laws, and hunters in the ballads are similarly clad.¹ Chaucer's yeoman, too, "was clad in cote and hood of grene;"² and Emily, in the *Knight's Tale*,³ wears a green gown on the May morning when she goes forth with Theseus and his company to hunt. According to an old proverb,

The first of May
Is Robin Hood's day;

and at least as early as the fifteenth century Robin Hood and his men were associated in England with the May games.⁴ Thus, since it is undue love of hunting and hawking and playing in meads that is specifically condemned in the followers of the Flower, their green costumes may possibly be accounted for without going away from England.

Thus far we have been examining cases of the use of white and green separately, where a symbolic meaning is attached to the colors or implied by the context. Many more examples might doubtless be found,⁵ as mediæval poetry is full of details about costumes, and the colors in question were exceptionally popular. But it seems sufficient to conclude with a few important instances of the use of the two colors together.

At the ceremonies after the coronation of Charles VI of France, in 1380, "ceux de la ville de Paris allerent au devant de luy bien deux milles personnes vestus tout un, c'est a sçavoir de robbes my-partis de vert et de blanc."⁶ Even though in this narrative no specific significance is attached to the colors, the circumstance is of interest. Much more important, however, is the use of the colors in Christine de Pisan's *Duc des Vrais Amans*,⁷ where on

¹ See Child, "Robin Hood Ballads," *passim*, Vol. III; also ballads 73 D, stanza 11; 107 A, stanzas 25, 30, 76; 305 A, stanzas 19, 32. Of course, a very much longer list could be made, were it necessary to be exhaustive. See, for instance, *Ipomedon*, ed. Kolbing, l. 657.

² *C. T.*, A, l. 103.

³ *Ibid.*, l. 1686.

⁴ See the accounts of May games in Strutt's *Sport and Pastimes*, Book IV, chap. iii, secs. xv-xx; Strutt's romance, *Queenhoo-Hall*, sec. i; Hone's *Every-Day Book*, Vol. I, pp. 269 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 284 ff.; Hone's *Table Book*, pp. 271 ff.; Hone's *Year Book*, pp. 257 ff.; Brand's *Popular Antiquities*; Mannhardt's *Baumkultus*, pp. 160 ff.; Chambers' *Book of Days*, Vol. I, pp. 571 ff.

⁵ For instance, in the romances, which I have not examined with this matter especially in view.

⁶ Quoted from Jean des Ursins, "Histoire de Charles VI," in *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire de la France*, Vol. II, p. 342.

⁷ *Œuvres*, Vol. III, pp. 59 ff. The poem will be analysed somewhat in detail in chap. iii, below.

one day knights clad in white joust before ladies in white, and on the next day both knights and ladies are clad in green. Here also no significance is attached to the colors, and the same persons wear the different costumes on different days; yet there is enough similarity in the attendant circumstances—the jousting; the order in which the colors appear; the attention to details about armor, harness, precious stones, gold embroidery, and so forth—to justify a strong suspicion that the author of *F. L.* knew the French woman's poem. Christine de Pisan makes a good deal of account of the "Ordre de la Dame Blanche à l'Escu Verd," which was formed by the famous Marechal Boucicault in 1399,¹ for the protection of women. The emblem of the order was "une targe d'or esmaillié de verd, à tout une dame blanche dedans." It seems reasonable to believe that the "dame blanche" represented the purity which the knights of the order were to protect; what the green background signified is not so clear.

That white and green were sometimes associated together in connection with the observances of May is shown by an account, in Hall's Chronicle,² of a "maying" of Henry VIII, in which the company were clad in green on one occasion and in white on another. In Machyn's *Diary*,³ too, there is mention of a white and green May pole, around which danced a company of men and women wearing "baldrykes" of white and green.

The conclusion, then, as to colors, is that the use of white and green in *F. L.* is substantially in accordance with tradition. White regularly signifies purity, and is associated with martial prowess and joy; the wearers of white in our poem are famous warriors, pure women, and steadfast lovers. Green is inconsistently interpreted; but in actual use is most often associated with pleasures of the lighter sort for which the followers of the Flower are condemned.

CHAPLETS OF LEAVES AND OF FLOWERS

The wearing of chaplets, whether of leaves or flowers, was a regular feature of the observance of May Day and other medi-

¹ See *Memoirs pour servir à l'histoire de la France*, Vol. II, pp. 209, 255; C. de Pisan's *Oeuvres*, Vol. I, pp. 208, 210, 220, 302, 308, etc.

² 1599 ed., pp. 515, 520; quoted by Mannhardt, p. 308.

³ Ed. Nichols (Camden Society, 1848), p. 20.

several outdoor festivities of the spring and summer.¹ In *F. L.* this practice is used to distinguish the parties further by giving chaplets of leaves to the company of the Leaf; of flowers, to the company of the Flower.

Laurel wreaths, as it seems hardly necessary to say, were frequently used from very early times as tokens of honor. Apollo was often represented with a crown of laurel, "comme dieu qui purifie, qui illumine, et qui triomphe."² Chaucer dresses Theseus

With laurer crowned as a conquerour.³

Christine de Pisan has a ballade on men "digne d'estre de lorier ouronné."⁴ Lydgate represents St. Margaret as crowned with laurel,⁵ and in *A. G.*, l. 791, Virtue is crowned with laurel. Thus it is in accordance with a very common conventionality that in *F. L.* laurel wreaths are given to the Nine Worthies, and those that were "hardy" and "wan victorious name."⁶

Woodbine is worn by those that

never were (485)
To love untrew in word, ne thought, ne dede,
But ay stedfast.

A significance like this is attached by Lydgate to hawthorn;⁷ and both Chaucer and the author of *F. L.* mention woodbine and hawthorn together.⁸ The latter especially was very popular during the Middle Ages, and generally associated with the festivities of May. Hawthorn branches were used in "planting the May," and the hawthorn blossom was often called "the May."⁹ The special appropriateness of hawthorn for the adherents of the Leaf is indicated in the following passages:

¹ The examples cited of the different kinds of chaplets will furnish sufficient evidence of the prevalence of the custom. Reference may be made, however, to *E. E.*, ed. Michel, Vol. I, pp. 247, 248, note; and to Hinstorff's dissertation on *Kulturgeschichtliches im "Roman de l'Escoufle" und im "Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole"* (Darmstadt, 1896). See also the authorities cited on p. 152 above, n. 4.

² *Gubernatis, Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. II, p. 138.

³ *C. T.*, A, l. 1027.

⁴ *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 2.

⁵ "Life of St. Margarete," Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge (Heilbronn, 1881), pp. 446 ff., l. 42.

⁶ *Ll.* 240, 249, 479-81, 502-32. ⁷ *T. G.*, ll. 503-16; see p. 138 above. ⁸ *C. T.*, A, l. 1508; *F. L.*, l. 272.

⁹ See Chesnel, *Dictionnaire des superstitions* (Paris 1856), p. 101; Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus*, pp. 343, 365; Chambers, *Book of Days*, Vol. I, p. 571; Schick's notes on *T. G.*, pp. 99, 100, 136; Rolland, *Flores Populaires*, Vol. V (1904), pp. 157 ff.

L'aubépine, la fleur du printemps, était vénérée dans nos campagnes. On en faisait un emblème de pureté, et on lui prêtait des vertus merveilleuses; on en portait aussi une branche comme un préservatif contre le tonnerre.¹

Au temps de la chevalerie, l'amant qui les circonstances condamnait à subir une longue attente avant de voir couronner ses vœux, présentait à la dame que les avait fait naître un rameau d'aubépine, lié d'un ruban de velours incarnat, ce qui signifiait qu'il vivait de l'espérance et demeurait fidèle.²

The nightingale, singer for the Leaf, is frequently associated with the hawthorn, as in *C. N.*, where, after his defense of true love against the scoffing cuckoo, he flies into a hawthorn bush.³ Similarly the nightingale sings from a "thorn" in Lydgate's *Night. II*,⁴ and in *C. L.* he goes to matins "within a temple shapen hawthorn-wise."⁵

Two other kinds of leaves remain for chaplets—"okes cereal," of which also Emily's crown was made when she appeared in Diana's temple,⁶ and *agnus castus*, which was proverbially believed to be a preservative of chastity.⁷

Chaplets of flowers are much more frequently mentioned than chaplets of leaves, and were associated regularly with the festivities of light love. Venus and Cupid are generally represented as crowned with roses.⁸ Oiseuse in *R. R.* likewise wore a chaplet of roses.⁹ Chaucer gives Priapus garlands of flowers in *P. F.*, l. 259.

¹ Tarbé, *Romancero de Champagne* (Reims, 1863), Vol. II, p. 50. Sir John Maundeville also testifies to the potency of the white thorn or "albespine" against thunder (*Travels*, chap. II).

² Chesnel, *Dictionnaire des superstitions*, p. 101.

³ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 347 ff., l. 237.

⁴ *Two Nightingale Poems*, ed. Glauning (E. E. T. S., 1900), ll. 10, 11, 61, 353, 356. See Glauning's note on l. 10.

⁵ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 409 ff., l. 1354.

⁶ *C. T.*, A, l. 2290.

⁷ See Professor Skeat's notes on both cereal oak and *agnus castus*, on *F. L.*, ll. 160, 209. The following may also be added from Gubernatis, *Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. II, p. 4: "Dans les fêtes athéniennes des Thesmophores, les jeunes filles s'ornaient des fleurs de l'*agnus-castus* et couchaient sur les feuilles de cette plante, pour garder leur pureté et leur état de vierges."

⁸ See Schick's note on l. 505 of Lydgate's *T. G.* The following additions may be made to the passages there quoted: Cupid wears a garland of flowers in *Fable!* (ref. p. 162 below), p. 23; in *R. R.*, l. 908, Chaucerian version; in *L. G. W.*, A, l. 160; B, l. 228.

⁹ L. 506, Chaucerian version.

The following passage from Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (1303) is of decided interest:

3yf pou euer yn felde, eyper in toune,
Dedyst floure-gerland or coroune
To make wommen to gadyr pere,
To se whych pat feyrer were;
Pys ys a3ens þe commaundement,
And þe halyday for þe ys shent;
Hyt ys a gaderyng for lecherye,
And ful grete pryde, & herte hye.¹

Mention of chaplets of flowers is particularly frequent in connection with the observances of May. Thus Colin Muset² says that in May, when the nightingale sings, he must wear a chaplet of flowers "por moi déduire et déporter;" and in another poem he describes companies of young men and girls who

Chantent et font grant revel,
Chascuns a chapel de flor.

An Italian poem of the thirteenth century, attributed to Dino Campagni,³ contains the following lines:

Ne bei mesi d'aprile e di maio,
La gente fa di fior le ghirlandette,
Donzelle e cavalieri d' alto paraio
Cantan d'amore novelle e canzonette.

Froissart tells in his *Paradys d'Amours* of meeting and loving Bel Acueil,

Qui faisoit chapeaus de flourettes.⁴

She makes him a chaplet, and he in payment recites to her his ballade of the marguerite.⁵ Deschamps mentions the making of chaplets of flowers, in connection with the observance of May Day, in both his *Lay Amoureux* and his *Lay de Franchise*.⁶ The ladies whom the hero of *C. O.*⁷ meets are making garlands of flowers. The poems of Christine de Pisan contain numerous

¹ E. E. T. S., ed. Furnivall, Part I (1901), ll. 997 ff.

² *Chansonniers de Champagne*, ed. Tarbé (Reims, 1850), pp. 87, 90, 92.

³ Quoted by Gubernatis, *Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. I, p. 228.

⁴ *Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff., l. 1473.

⁵ To be discussed below, p. 158.

⁶ To be analyzed in chap. iii below.

⁷ In *Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. Wright (Camden Society, 1841), pp. 310 ff.

references to this custom;¹ and—to conclude a list that might be longer—the lovers in *C. L.* wear garlands of flowers.²

An interesting specific contrast of leaf and flower is in the following passage from *Gubernatis*:

Dans le Tyrol italien, les jeunes filles portent sur leurs cheveux une petite feuille verte, symbole de leur virginité . . . ; le jour de leur mariage, elles perdent le droit de la porter et la remplacent par des fleurs artificielles.³

This is a bit of undated folklore; but the resemblance to part of the symbolism of leaf and flower in *F. L.* is striking. On the whole, it should be very clear that the use of the chaplets in our poem is in accordance with well-defined tradition.

THE CULT OF THE DAISY

Though *F. L.* presents no such description of the daisy as may be found in many another poem, the rôle of that flower is very important, since it is the object worshiped by the green-clad followers of the Flower. Such choice of a particular blossom is not a feature of any other poem we have on the strife of the Flower and the Leaf; but it is not at all surprising, in view of the widespread cult of the daisy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴

The earliest poem of importance on the subject is Machaut's *Dit de la Marguerite*.⁵ This is a complimentary poem and bears no specific resemblance to *F. L.* The poet emphasizes the connection of the daisy with the affairs of love, saying that its scent produces love and its root cures the pains of love,⁶ and he promises to serve and love this flower only.

Machaut's pupil, Deschamps, has a ballade complimentary to "une dame du nom de Marguerite,"⁷ and virtually repeats the

¹ See *Œuvres*, Vol. I, pp. 218, 226, 230; Vol. II, *Dit de la Pastourelle*, ll. 634, 670, pp. 243, 244.

² *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 409 ff., ll. 440, 450. On the general subject of flowers in connection with the observance of May Day, reference may be made to *Gubernatis*, *Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. I, p. 153; Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus*, p. 344, etc.; and the authorities cited in n. 4, p. 152 above.

³ *Mythologie des plantes*, Vol. I, p. 143.

⁴ See Professor Lowes' article referred to above, p. 124, n. 1. I have limited my discussion to matters directly bearing on *F. L.*

⁵ *Œuvres choisies*, ed. Tarbé, pp. 123-29. ⁶ See Morley's *English Writers*, Vol. V, pp. 133 ff.

⁷ *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 379; already referred to in connection with the significance of the colors (p. 143 above).

contents of this ballade in his *Lay de Franchise*.¹ In both these places the flower is spoken of as "blanche et vermeille,"² and the lady is said to be endowed with admirable qualities which the different parts of the flower symbolize. In the latter respect, as already noted, there is inconsistency with the allegory of our poem, and the bit of descriptive detail—"blanche et vermeille"—is practically inevitable in writing of a "Wee, modest, crimson-tipped flow'r." Hence the only thing especially worthy of note about Deschamps' love of the daisy is that his tribute in the *Lay de Franchise* occurs in a setting somewhat like that of *F. L.*³

Deschamps was primarily complimenting a lady named Marguerite; Froissart the chronicler, though not guiltless of complimentary intentions, seems really to have loved the flower somewhat as Chaucer loved it. He mentions it nearly everywhere. His best known poem on the subject is the ballade in *Le Paradys d'Amours*,⁴ with the refrain:

Sus toutes flours j'aime la margherite.

In *La Prison Amoureuse*⁵ Froissart used

une fleur petite
Que nous appellons margherite,

for the seal, or *cachet*, of the lover in an amorous correspondence. He imitated Machaut, also, in devoting a whole poem to this favorite flower—*Le Dittié de la Flour de la Margherite*,⁶ in which the praise is similar to that by Chaucer in the Prologue to *L. G. W.* And his seventeenth *Pastourelle*⁷ concludes each stanza with the refrain:

La margherite à la plus belle—

that is, of the shepherdesses celebrated in the poem. It should perhaps be noted especially that in the ballade above referred to the daisy is praised for its enduring freshness (somewhat in contrast with its rôle in *F. L.*), but is associated with springtime and conventional love.

¹ *Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 203 ff., ll. 30 ff.

² Compare *F. L.*, 333, and *L. G. W.*, A, 42.

³ See above, p. 135; below, chap. iii.

⁴ *Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. I, p. 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 241 ff., ll. 898, 899.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 209 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 343 ff.

Whatever cult of the daisy there was in England seems to have been due to the influence of Chaucer, and he doubtless was familiar with some at least of the French poems just mentioned.¹ His tribute in the Prologue to *L. G. W.*,² in close connection as it is with his reference to the strife of the Flower and the Leaf,³ must have been in the mind of the author of our poem; even though he seem inconsistent in making the frivolous company of the Flower do homage to the daisy, whereas in Chaucer the faithful Alcectis is transformed into that flower. It hardly need be pointed out that this inconsistency resembles that between *F. L.* and Deschamps, who makes the green of the stalk of the daisy symbolize constancy. And it must be admitted that, in spite of the association of this flower with springtime festivities and light love, the exalted position given it by Chaucer and Deschamps is more fully in accord with the common mediæval belief in its healing powers, emphasized in Machaut's *Dit de la Marguerite*.⁴

Various references to Chaucer's happy bit of myth-making in regard to Alcectis have been pointed out by Professors Skeat and Schick.⁵ In one of these I find striking expression, heretofore unnoticed, of a prominent thought of *F. L.* Lydgate's *Poem against Self-Love*⁶ contains these lines:

Alcectis flower, with white, with red and-greene,
Displaieth hir crown geyn Phebus bemys brihte,
In stormys dreepithe, conseyve what I meene,
Look in thy myrour and deeme noon othir wihte.

The italicized words describe so exactly the state of the flower and its followers after the storm that comes upon them⁷ as to suggest that Lydgate was directly alluding to our poem.

Other notable English references to the daisy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are as follows: In *C. N.*, with its discussion of love, the setting is a land of daisies, and healing properties are attributed to the flower.⁸ The *Compleynt* which

¹ See the articles by Kittredge and Lowes, cited above, p. 124, n. 1.

² Text B, ll. 40-45.

³ B, l. 72.

⁴ See p. 157 above, and the passage from Morley there referred to.

⁵ See Schick's note on ll. 70-74 of Lydgate's *T. G.*, p. 74 of his edition, and the references there given.

⁶ *M. P.*, ed. Halliwell, pp. 156 ff.; especially p. 161.

⁷ *F. L.*, ll. 308-71.

⁸ Ll. 68, 243 ff.; ref. p. 155 above.

Professor Schick prints as an appendix to his edition of *T. G.* presents an extended tribute to the daisy,¹ in which most of the elements found in the French poets and Chaucer are repeated. If Lydgate wrote this poem (as is very doubtful, however) it is especially interesting on account of his very frequent reference to the flower.² "A Ballad" beginning:

In the season of Feuerere whan it was full cold,
printed first with Stowe's Chaucer of 1561, but rejected by Tyrwhitt and subsequent editors,³ is a tribute to the daisy, which may allude to the worship of this flower by the Order of the Flower. Lovers are addressed, and told that they

Owe for to worship the lusty floures alway,
And in especiall one is called see⁴ of the day,
The daisee, a floure white and rede,
And in French called La bele Margarete.

In two poems of some importance later than *F. L.* daisies form part of the setting: in *A. L.*, ll. 57 ff.,⁵ and in *C. L.*, ll. 101 ff.

The refrain purporting to be quoted in *F. L.* from some French original—"Si douce est la margarete"⁶—I have not yet found elsewhere. The fact that the spelling "margarete," to rime with "swete," is not used in French—so far as I can learn—suggests the possibility that the line may have been composed by the English poet to suit the convenience of the rime.

On the whole, the use of the daisy in connection with May Day festivities is more or less conventional, but was probably directly suggested by Chaucer, with very likely a reference to Machaut, Deschamps, or Froissart for the lighter signification attached to the flower in *F. L.* It also seems probable that Lydgate knew our poem and directly alludes to it.

THE NIGHTINGALE

The nightingale in *F. L.* flies to Diana, the lady of the Leaf; the goldfinch, to Flora, the lady of the Flower. The former represents the more serious side of man's nature, shown in affairs of

¹ Ll. 394 ff.

² See Schick's note, p. 74.

³ See Skeat: *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. xiii. Most easily accessible in Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, p. 562.

⁴ Apparently an error for "ee."

⁵ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 380 ff.

⁶ *F. L.*, l. 350.

love by steadfastness; the latter, the more frivolous side, with a suggestion of inconstancy in love. Here the conformity with literary tradition is not so strict as in relation to most of the other matters discussed in this chapter.

The nightingale, with other birds, was an element of the conventional springtime setting,¹ and as such became inevitably associated with the festivities of love, whether serious and steadfast, or the lighter love with which we have found green garments and garlands of flowers associated. The general popularity of the nightingale in mediæval poetry (or, for that matter, in the poetry of all times and all nations where the bird is found) is too well known to require comment.² A very large number, perhaps even a majority, of all the poems I have read which present the springtime setting give the nightingale a place of prominence—or the place of most prominence—among the birds that rejoice the poet's heart, or cheer the lover and remind him of his mistress.³

Along with this general association with love, however, there is a tendency to exalt the character of the nightingale, to associate her⁴ with the better sort of love—with inspiration to brave deeds and even with religion—and thus make it more appropriate that she should be the singer for the brave and steadfast company of the Leaf. Giving the nightingale a serious character is probably due, in part at least, to the bird's association with the classical story of Philomela, and to the mediæval superstition that she

¹ To be discussed in chap. iii below.

² See Uhland, *Abhandlung über die deutschen Volkslieder*, *passim*.

³ On the association of the nightingale with the affairs of love see Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 217 ff. The following additions may be made to the examples there referred to: The nightingale cries on the green leaf for love (Mahn, *Gedichte der Troubadours*, Vol. I, p. 173). The nightingale is sent with a message of love to the "jardin d'amour" (Tarbé's *Romancero de Champagne*, Vol. II, p. 159). On the nightingale as a messenger see also Appel, *Provensalische Chrestomathie*, 2d ed., p. 97; *Romania*, Vol. III, pp. 97, 98; Vol. VII, pp. 55, 57; *Chansons du XV^{me} siècle*, Nos. lxxvii, civ, cxxxix, etc.; Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France* (Paris, 1879), Vol. II, pp. 275 ff. Christine de Pisan, in her *Dir de Poissy* (*Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 164, 165), describes the singing of nightingales against "le faulx jaloux." In Chaucer's *T. C.* (II, ll. 918-24) a nightingale sings a love song that lulls Criseyde to sleep. In Lydgate's *B. K.* (*Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 245 ff.)—

"the nightingale (47)
With so gret myghte her voys gan out-wreste
Right as her herte for love wolde breste."

Cf. this with *F. L.*, ll. 99-102, 447-49.

⁴ Though it is in fact the male nightingale that sings, the mediæval poets generally thought otherwise.

sang with her heart impaled upon a thorn.¹ The following examples will illustrate the tendency:

The burden of the first part of *Fablet* (ed. Jubinal, Paris, 1834) is the nightingale's complaint of the degeneracy of love.

In *Venus* (ed. Förster, Bonn, 1880) the nightingale writes a charter containing a decree of love, in which loyal love is commanded.

Uhland cites examples of the inspiration of warriors by the nightingale's song (*Abhandlung*, ed. Fischer, p. 87).

In Froissart's *Loenge de May* (*Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. II, pp. 194 ff.) the song of the nightingale inspires the lover to ardent praise of his mistress and resolutions of loyalty to her.

In *C. O.* and many of the *Chansons* (e. g., cvi, cix) the nightingale sings to gladden the hearts of those in pain for love.²

The part of the bird is very prominent in the *Chansons*. She "praises true lovers in her pretty song" (lxvii). She is the messenger of a neglected mistress to remind her lover of his duty (lxxii, cxxiii).³ She is asked for advice in a love affair (cxvii).

The nightingale in *C. N.* speaks in defense of true love against the scoffing cuckoo (see p. 155 above, and p. 163 below).

Lydgate's *Two Nightingale Poems* are mainly religious allegories, in which the nightingale represents Christ; but in II, ll. 16, 17, the poet says he "understood that she was asking Venus for vengeance on false lovers." In l. 68 she praises pure love.

In the *Devotions of the Fowls*, printed by Halliwell with Lydgate's *M. P.* (pp. 78 ff.), but of doubtful authenticity, the nightingale sings of Christ's resurrection.

In *The Thrush and the Nightingale* (Hazlitt's *Popular Poetry*, Vol. I, pp. 50 ff.; and *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, Vol. I, p. 241) the nightingale defends women against the attacks of the thrush, and is admitted by the latter to win the victory.

In the *Buke of the Howlat* (*Scottish Alliterative Poems*, ed. Amours; S. T. S., 1897) nightingales (with other birds) sing a hymn to the virgin (ll. 716 ff.).

Dunbar has the nightingale defend the thesis that "All luve is lost bot vpon God allone" (*Poems*, S. T. S., Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.).⁴

So far as a relation of any of the above poems with *F. L.* is concerned, the function of the nightingale is most important in

¹ See Chambers, *Book of Days*, Vol. I, p. 515; Schick's note on Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, II, ii, 50.

² She does not always rejoice the lover, however; see cxx, cxxi.

³ See other examples of use of the nightingale as a messenger, n. 3, p. 161 above.

⁴ The rôle of the bird in the *Owl and the Nightingale* is not exalted, but this poem is considerably earlier than any but a very few of those here considered, and seems to have little, if any, connection with any of them.

C. N. This bird's defense there is primarily of love and love service in general, but the emphasis is distinctly on true service, such as the lovers among the adherents of the Leaf would render.

THE GOLDFINCH

The goldfinch is not nearly so often mentioned as the nightingale, but when he receives a character it is consistent with that given him in *F. L.* Thus the "prentis" in Chaucer's *Cook's Tale*¹ is described as "gaillard . . . as goldfinch in the shawe." In the pseudo-Chaucerian *Pardonere and Tapstere* I find the expression "as glad as any goldfynch."² And in *C. L.* the "goldfinch fresh and gay" sings a psalm to the effect that "the god of Love hath erth in governaunce."³ Professor Skeat's suggestion that the goldfinch in *F. L.* is like the cuckoo in *C. N.* in representing faithless love⁴ is based upon an entirely unjustifiable interpretation of the latter poem. The cuckoo scoffs at love altogether and refuses ever "in loves yok to drawe."⁵ He argues that lovers are the worst off of all people on earth,⁶ because all sorts of evils come from love.⁷ The cuckoo would agree with the chaste members of the company of the Leaf rather than with the gay adherents of the Flower.

THE LAUREL AND MEDLAR TREES

Whatever significance may be attached to the trees in which the birds sing in *F. L.* has been partly indicated above (p. 154), so far as the laurel is concerned. The laurel has leaves that last,⁸ and has been associated for centuries with noble deeds. In classical mythology Daphne was changed to a laurel to preserve her virginity. The tree was sacred among the Greeks and Romans,⁹ and in mediæval times was credited with power to protect against

¹ *C. T.*, A, l. 4367.

² Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, p. 638.

³ *L.* 1371.

⁴ Note at bottom of p. 530, *Chaucerian Pieces*.

⁵ *L.* 140.

⁶ *Ll.* 141-44.

⁷ *Ll.* 171-75.

⁸ As noted by Chaucer in *P. F.*, ll. 173, 182, and by Lydgate in *C. B. (M. P.)*, p. 180. The latter passage deserves quotation because of the mention of Flora, queen of the Flower in our poem:

"And the laurealle of nature is ay grene,
Of flowres also Flora goddes and quene."

Further evidences of the popularity of the laurel are given in Glauning's note on *Night*, l. 1. 63.

⁹ On the laurel in general see Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen u. Haustierte*, 7th ed. (Berlin, 1902), pp. 220 ff.

thunder,¹ such as the hawthorn also was thought to have. The bird sings from a laurel in Lydgate's *C. B.*,² and the nightingale from a laurel in *Night*. I, l. 63.

The medlar tree, on the other hand, though not very frequently mentioned in mediæval poetry, is plainly associated with hastiness and decay, or over-sudden ripeness, as in Chaucer's *Reeve's Prologue*.³ Shakspeare refers to the same characteristic in language very similar to that of Chaucer,⁴ besides giving the name "rotten medlar" to Mistress Overdone,⁵ and implying bad things of the medlar in *Romeo and Juliet*.⁶ This tree is deciduous; its blossoms last but a short time, and its fruit ripens and rots quickly; so that a certain fitness is manifest in connecting it with the idle, faithless, luckless followers of the Flower.

THE DANCING AND JOUSTING

A few points remain as to the action of the allegory. The singing and dancing of both companies are without special significance. So also, probably, is the jousting among themselves by the knights of the Leaf. Singing and dancing always accompanied the observance of May Day, and jousting was a common feature of nearly every sort of celebration. The details of the jousting in *F. L.* resemble in a general way familiar passages in the *Knight's Tale* and in Lydgate's imitation of the latter, *The Story of Thebes*.⁷ Two French accounts of jousts are also worth mention: that in Christine de Pisan's *Duc des Vrais Amans*, because of the use of green and white costumes;⁸ and that in Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise*,⁹ because the setting there and portions of the action somewhat resemble those of *F. L.*

THE STORM

The storm that was so uncomfortable for the followers of the Flower seems significant only as to its result. In its combination of wind and hail and rain it bears some resemblance to the

¹ See Chesnel, *Dictionnaire des superstitions*, p. 539; Hone's *Year Book*, p. 776.

² *M. P.*, p. 181.

³ *C. T.*, A. II. 3871-73.

⁴ *A. Y. L. I.*, III, II, 125-28.

⁵ *M. M.*, IV, III, 184.

⁶ II, I, 35, 36.

⁷ *C. T.*, A, II. 2599 ff.; *Thebes*, in Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, pp. 581, etc.

⁸ See p. 152, 153 above.

⁹ Ref. p. 143 above.

miraculous storm in Chrestian de Troyes' *Yvain*,¹ but the resemblance is not strong enough to justify any assumption of relationship. The most striking comments on a storm, so far as possible relations with *F. L.* are concerned, are in Lydgate's *Testament*,² as follows:

Lych as in Ver men gretly them delite
 To beholde the bewté sovereyne
 Of thes blomys, som blew, rede, and white,
 To whos fresshnesse no colour may atteyne,
 But than unwarly comyth a wynd sodeyne,
 For no favour list nat for to spare
 Fresshnesse of braunchys, for to make hem bare.

 Whan Ver is freshest of blomys and of flourys,
 An unwar storm his fresshnesse may apayre.

RELATION OF *F. L.* WITH THE *LAY DU TROT*

The bedraggled condition of the adherents of the Flower after the storm is worthy of note chiefly because it has been compared with the condition of a company of women in the Old French *Lay du Trot*. This comparison was first made by Sandras,³ and has been repeated by others.⁴

Substantially the same story appears in several forms, of which the Breton *Lay du Trot* is probably the earliest.⁵ In this poem Lorois, a knight of Arthur's court, sees passing through the midst of a forest two companies of ladies. The ladies of one company ride on white palfreys, are splendidly arrayed, crowned with roses, and accompanied by *amis*, all because of their graciousness in matters of love. The ladies of the other company are mounted on wretched nags, miserably dressed, and in torment because they have cruelly refused to love.

In the Latin work of Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*,⁶ there are three companies of women led by the God of Love. Those in

¹ Ed. W. Foerster (Halle, 1887), ll. 397-407, 432-50.

² M. P., ed. Halliwell, pp. 245, 246.

³ *Étude sur Chaucer*, pp. 104, 105.

⁴ Notably by Morley, *English Writers*, Vol. V.

⁵ *Lat d'Iguamès*, ed. Moumerqué and Michel (Paris, 1882). I have not had access to this edition, and am therefore indebted to Sandras, and to notes kindly lent me by Professor W. H. Schofield, of Harvard, for my brief analysis.

⁶ *Andreas Capellani Regis Francorum de Amore*, ed. Trojel (Copenhagen, 1892). This work is very important in relation to mediæval imitation of Ovid, *E. R.*, the Court of Love poems, etc., and has therefore been analysed at length by Neilson, Mott, Langlois, and others.

the first company are gorgeously arrayed, well mounted, and attended each by three knights. They are women who, while alive, wisely bestowed their love. The second troop are in great discomfort because of the number who wish to wait on them; they are women of loose virtue. The women of the third troop are like those of the second in the *Lay du Trot*. One of their number explains the significance of all three companies. The whole vision is described by a knight to a lady whom he wishes to frighten out of her coldness.

Gower's tale of Rosiphele, in the fourth book of the *Confessio Amantis*,¹ is in essentials only slightly different. The heroine

hadde o defalte of Slowthe
Towardes love,

and could not be prevailed upon to think of matrimony. While walking in a park before sunrise one day in May, she saw a company of ladies richly clad in white and blue, and mounted on great white horses well caparisoned. They were followed by a woman with torn attire, who rode alone on a very sorry looking horse and carried all the halters for the others. This woman, when asked, explained that the ladies whom she attended were "servantz to love" (1376), and that she was but their "horse knave" (1399) because she "liste noght to love obeie" (1389).²

On the whole, it is difficult to see how these stories can have been thought very similar to *F. L.* Even the miserable women are miserable chiefly because of their lack of attendants and the condition of their horses, and their plight is not due to any cause even remotely resembling the storm in our poem. In Gower's version, indeed, the woman is

Fair of visage, (1361)
Freyssh, lusti, yong and of tendre age;

a very different person from one who has just been burned by sun and drenched by rain and bruised by hail. The allegory, too, is

¹ Ll. 1245 ff.

² In purpose Boccaccio's tale of Anastasio (*Decamerone*, V, 8) is similar to these; but the details are different, as the cavalcade disappears, and we have instead a single lady suffering great tortures after death for her hard-heartedness. On this whole matter of the "purgatory of cruel beauties," see an article by Professor Neilson in *Romania*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 85 ff.

in most respects different; for the persons in *F. L.* that correspond most nearly in character to the unfortunate women in these stories are, not any of the adherents of the Flower, but the strictly chaste members of the company of the Leaf (*F. L.*, 477). The only resemblance in the allegory is in the fact that the adherents of the Flower are condemned for idleness, and Gower's serving woman is being punished for sloth (or idleness) in love. This seems to be a superficial resemblance, not in harmony with the spirit of our poem. Thus the real similarities are few and nearly all general; namely: the fact that there are contrasted companies, one of which is in sorry plight of some kind and for some reason (for the kind and the reason are not similar); the fact that in Gower the fortunate company are clad in white and blue, in *F. L.* in white; and the fact that a member of one of the companies explains who all the people are and what their action means.¹ It is probable that the author of our poem knew the story in Gower, but there is no sufficient reason for assuming a knowledge of the *Lay du Trot* or Andreas Capellanus.

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¹ The interpreter is common to all allegories; see chap. iii, below, *passim*, and Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 213 ff. The significance of the colors has been discussed on pp. 143-46 above.

SOURCES AND ANALOGUES OF "THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF." PART II¹

CHAPTER III. THE GENERAL SETTING AND MACHINERY

Besides the central allegory and its symbolic accessories, the general setting and machinery of *F. L.*² deserve consideration. Most of the elements of the setting, making up the whole framework of the poem, are conventional. Yet even those that are most conventional require some attention, because many of them have been cited as evidences of indebtedness of the author of *F. L.* to particular poems.

THE ASTRONOMICAL REFERENCE

The first point to be noted is the fixing of the time of the poem by reference to the sun's position in the zodiac:

When that Phebus his chaire of gold so by (1)
Had whirled up the sterry sky aloft,
And in the Bole was entred certainly.

This passage calls to mind at once a similar reference near the beginning of the prologue to *C. T.*, in which Chaucer may have been imitating either his Italian models or Boethius and earlier Latin writers. Whatever the source for Chaucer, the French poets do not seem to have cared for this device, as I do not find it in any French poem otherwise resembling *F. L.* Chaucer, however, used it a great deal, as the following passages show:

In the *Knight's Tale*, on the May morning when Arcite is to "doon his observaunce,"

fyry Phebus ryseth up so brighte,
That al the orient laugheth of the lighte.³

¹ For valuable suggestions and assistance, in ways too numerous to mention, I should acknowledge indebtedness to Professor W. E. Mead, of Wesleyan University; Professor W. H. Schofield, of Harvard University; and the following members of the faculties of the University of Chicago: Professors Karl Pietsch, T. A. Jenkins, Philip S. Allen, John M. Manly, F. I. Carpenter, A. H. Tolman, and Dr. Eleanor P. Hammond. My obligation to Professor Manly is particularly great, for he suggested the subject, pointed out much of the material, and assisted with comment and criticism from the beginning to the end of my investigation.

² For a list of abbreviations used, see Part I of this study, *Modern Philology*, Vol. IV, p. 122, n. 2.

³ *C. T.*, A, ll. 1493, 1494.

In the *Merchant's Tale*,

Phebus of gold his stremes doun hath sent,
To gladen every flour with his warmnesse.¹

In the *Franklin's Tale*, "Phebus"

Shoon as the burned gold with stremes brighte.²

In *T. C.* we have the same time as that of *F. L.* indicated in the same way:

Whan Phebus doth his brighte bemes sprede
Right in the whyte Bole.³

And at the very end of the fragmentary *Squire's Tale* is precisely the figure used in *F. L.*:

Appollo whirleth up his char so hye.⁴

Lydgate also makes striking use of the astronomical reference. In his *B. K.*,⁵ which bears many other resemblances to *F. L.*, all the essential elements of our first three lines are combined: "Phebus" and his "chaire of gold," his rapid movement, and his position in the "Bole" on May Day.

In May, whan Flora, the freeshe lusty quene, (1)
The soile hath clad in grene, rede, and whyte,
And Phebus gan to shede his stremes shene
Amid the Bole, with al the bemes brighte,

the action of the poem begins; and later the sun's "char of golde his cours so swiftly ran" (l. 595), that twilight came and gave the poet a chance to write about what he had seen. Lydgate nearly always called the sun "Phebus," and often mentioned his chariot of gold.⁶ Other imitators of Chaucer began occasionally with astronomical references, as, for example, the Scottish poets; but none with any such frequency as Lydgate.

THE SPRING SETTING

After fixing the time as indicated, our poet proceeds with a description of the joys and the beauties of spring. Such details, it is well known, are extremely common in mediæval poetry. The

¹ *C. T.*, E, ll. 2220, 2221. ² *C. T.*, F, l. 1247. ³ *T. C.*, II, ll. 54, 55. ⁴ *C. T.*, F, l. 671.

⁵ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 245 ff. See analysis, p. 306 below.

⁶ See *Chaucerian Pieces*, XIII, l. 26; XXII, l. 30; *M. P.*, pp. 2, 6, 8, 24 ("the golden chayre of Phebus"), 96, 118, 138 ("Phebus goldene chare"), 151, 153, 156, 160, 161, 182, 194, 195, 213, 215, 216, 218, 242, 245; *Night. I.*, ll. 26, 92; *T. G.*, ll. 5, 272, note p. 69; *R. S.*, ll. 450, 3766, 4006 ("the chare of Phebus"); *Thebes*, Chalmers, Vol. I, pp. 570, 583, 603; *Isopous*, *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. LXXXV, pp. 1 ff., ll. 86, 300; *Anglia*, Vol. IX, pp. 3, l. 30; 13, l. 33; 23, ll. 10, 15.

spring setting is almost always found in love lyrics and love allegories, on account of the natural and universal association of the springtime with love. Accordingly it would be futile, even if it were desirable, to attempt here an exhaustive treatment of mediæval "spring poetry." Only works that present, along with the conventional setting, details and circumstances resembling in some way those of *F. L.* can be examined. Accounts of such works, nearly all poetical, and arranged approximately in chronological order, will make up the remainder of this chapter.

PASTOURELLES—PROVENÇAL AND FRENCH

From very early times the *pastourelle* was a popular form of Romance poetry, with a perfectly conventional setting and situation that suggests the germ of *F. L.* In spring, when the birds sing and flowers bloom, a knight or the poet, riding through a meadow or a forest, finds a pretty shepherdess guarding her flocks and weaving garlands, sometimes of leaves, more often of flowers. Examples are so numerous that no exhaustive list can be made here.¹ The following by an unknown Provençal poet will illustrate the type:

Eu'm levei un bon mati, (5)
 enans de l'albeta;
 anei m'en en un vergier
 per cuillir violeta;
 et auzi un chan
 bel, de luenh; gardan
 trobei gaia pastorela
 sos anhels gardan.²

LI FABLEL DOU DIEU D'AMOURS

The first long French poem to be considered is the *Fablel*,³ of the latter part of the twelfth century—one of the earliest allegories based in part on Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* and preparing

¹ See Mahn, *Gedichte der Troubadours*, Vol. II, pp. 160, 171, 177, 211; Vol. III, p. 36; Tarbé, *Les chansonniers de Champagne aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Reims, 1850), pp. 2, 13, 18, 21, 23, 122, 123, 124; Scheler, *Trouvères belges du XII^e au XIV^e siècles* (Bruxelles, 1876), p. 68; *Trouvères belges* (nouvelle série; Louvain, 1879), p. 111; Paris, *Chansons du XV^e siècle*, pp. 6, 32, 114; *Poésies de Froissart*, Vol. II, pp. 306 ff.; *Œuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, Vol. II, pp. 223 ff.

² Quoted from Appel, *Provensalische Chrestomathie* (Zweite Auflage, 1902), p. 88. The same poem is found in Mahn, Vol. II, p. 171; and in Dies, *Altromanische Sprachdenkmale*, p. 119.

³ Ed. A. Jubinal (Paris, 1834).

the way for *R. R.* As such it has been analyzed in several recent monographs,¹ but some details require attention here. After lying in bed one morning with no delight but in amorous thought, the poet fell asleep and dreamed, in part as follows:

Je me levoie par .j. matin en may, (13)
 Por la douchor des oysiaus et del glai,
 Del loussignot, del malvis et dou gai.
 Qant fui levés en .j. pré m'en entr'ai.
 Je vos dirai com faite estoit la praérée;
 L'erbe i fu grande par desous la rousée.

Through the meadow ran a clear, beautiful brook that would make young any old man who should bathe in it. The poet continues:

Parmi le pré m'alai esbanoient, (33)
 Les le rivière tout dalés .j. pendant;
 Gardai amont deviers soleil luisant:
 .J. vergié vic; cèle part vinc errant.

This garden was surrounded by a ditch and a high wall; but the poet, being "courtois," was allowed to enter.

Qant jou oi [he says] des oisillons le crit, (78)
 D'autre canchon en che liu ne de dit,
 N'eusse cure, che saciés tout de fit.
 Sous ciel n'a home, s'il les oist canter,²
 Tant fust vilains ne l'esteut amer;
 Illuec m'asis por mon cors deporter,
 Desous une ente ki mult fait a loer.
 Elle est en l'an .iiij. fois de tel nature:
 Elle flourist, espanist et meure;
 De tous mehains garist qui li honeure,
 Fors de la mort vers cui riens n'a segure.
 Qant desous l'ente, el vergié fui assis,
 Et jou oi des oisillons les cris,
 De joie fu si mes cuers raemplis,
 Moi fu avis que fuisse en paradis.³

Then the poet heard the nightingale call the other birds about him and complain of the degeneracy of love. In the remainder of the poem we have no present interest.

¹ Langlois, *Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose* (Paris, 1890); Mott, *The System of Courtly Love* (Boston, 1896); Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI (1899). Professor Neilson has dealt with a large number of the works discussed in this chapter, but for a different purpose than mine. I shall not usually make specific reference to his valuable study.

² Cf. *F. L.*, II. 37, 38.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, II. 112-15.

DE VENUS LA DRESSE D'AMOR

The main ideas of the *Fablel* are repeated and somewhat amplified in *Venus*,¹ in which, to quote from Gaston Paris, "est décrit le 'Champ Fleuri,' jardin ou 'paradis' où règne le dieu d'amour, dont la cour est composée d'oiseaux!"² Here we do not find the dream setting of the *Fablel*—a lover has been awake all night because of love; but the springtime setting is there, presented in terms so similar that quotation is needless. In this poem a lover by chance saw Venus and three damsels of her train, somewhat as the author of *F. L.* saw the companies there described.

LE ROMAN DE LA ROSE

Much more important than the *Fablel* or *Venus* is that portion of *R. R.* written by Guillaume de Lorris.³ Not only does it present more points of resemblance to *F. L.* than any other poem written before the latter half of the fourteenth century,⁴ but it set the fashion in allegory for more than two hundred years, and was thus in a way the literary parent of nearly all the other works to which our author may have been indebted.

The poet dreams that on a beautiful May morning (described in great detail)⁵ he rose early and went forth until he came to a river, along which he wandered through a "medewe softre, swote, and grene" (l. 128), until he came to a garden (vergier) inclosed with high walls on which were portraits of the deadly sins. The noble damsel Ydelnesse (Oiseuse) opened a little wicket that let him into the garden, which he found to be like paradise (l. 648). Many birds sang there—including the nightingale and the goldfinch—as beautifully as "sirens of the sea." After listening to the birds a while, the poet followed a little path,

Of mentes ful, and fenel grene, (731)

till he reached a retreat where he found Myrthe (Dédruit) with his company, beautiful as winged angels. These people were

¹ Ed. W. Foerster (Bonn, 1880).

² *La littérature française au moyen âge*, par. 104.

³ Examined in the edition of Michel, 2 vols., Paris, 1864. References, however, will be to the Chaucerian version.

⁴ With the possible exception of *Les Echecs Amoureux*, which I have not seen. See the account of Lydgate's *R. S.*, p. 310, below.

⁵ Not quoted because the English version is easily accessible in editions of Chaucer. See especially ll. 49-59.

dancing while Dame Gladnes (Léesce) sang pleasantly to the accompaniment of flutes and other instruments. Here also appeared the God of Love; and after a long description of him and of various ladies in his train, the poet tells of wandering into another garden, followed by Love and some of his company.

The gardin was, by mesuring, (1349)
 Right evene and squar in compassing;
 It was as long as it was large;

and within it were set trees of various kinds, including medlars, laurels, and oaks. Moreover:

These trees were set, that I devyse, (1391)
 Oon from another, in assyse,
 Five fadome or sixe, I trowe so,
 But they were hye and grete also;¹
 And for to kepe out wel the sonne,
 The croppes were so thikke y-ronne,
 And every braunch in other knet,
 And ful of grene leves set,
 That sonne mighte noon descende,
 Lest (it) the tendre grasses shende.

These tender grasses were

thikke y-set
 And softe as any veluēt; (1420)

and there were many flowers in the garden. The poet sat down to rest beneath a pine tree beside the fountain of Narcissus. Reflected in the mirror at the bottom of this fountain he saw the beautiful rosebush, surrounded by a hedge, which was the inspiration of all his later efforts. The scent of the roses particularly attracted him, for it had healing powers.² With the wounds which the God of Love inflicted upon the poet and his prolonged efforts to win for his own the most perfect rose on the bush, we are not concerned.

THE DE CONDÉS, FATHER AND SON

La Voie de Paradis, of Baudouin de Condé,³ begins with a description of springtime, which, as M. Scheler points out,⁴

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 29-32.

² Michel ed., ll. 1824, 4096, etc.

³ *Dits et contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé*, ed. A. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1886, 1867), Vol. I, pp. 205 ff.

⁴ Note, p. 484.

bears a very strong resemblance to the corresponding description near the beginning of *R. R.* Special attention may be called to the following fragments of detail:

Lors est chel jour grans joie née, (16)
 Quar toute riens vivans s'esjoie.

.
 Sour l'ierbe qui est aroucée, (22)
 Dont la terre s'est revestue,¹

.
 Et cil bois dont tefis m'estoie, (30)
 Qui en yver sont desnue,²
 Ont tout leur pource abit mué,
 Pour le temps dont cascuns s'orgueille.

.
 Quant tout bois et vergier et pré (42)
 Sont tel, n'est nus ne s'esjoisse,³
 Combien que de son cuer joie isse.

Jean de Condé, like his father, Baudouin, was especially interested in pointing a moral to adorn his tale; but he was also fond of the conventional setting. An interesting little *Debat de l'Amant Hardi et de l'Amant Cremeteus*⁴ begins with a brief but rather comprehensive description of spring, at the conclusion of which the poet tells of his entering a "moult biel vregier." Here he encounters two ladies, who are arguing a question in love casuistry which they ask him to answer.

La Messe des Oisiaus of Jean de Condé⁵ is particularly important in relation to the part taken by birds in mediæval love allegory; but a number of features should be considered here. The poet says he went to bed

une nuit de may (3)
 Tout sans pesance et sans esmay;⁶

and dreamed that he sat under a pine tree listening to the birds sing just before dawn. Of them he says:

Ains nus n'en vit tant en sa vie, (17)
 Qu'il sembloit bien que par envie

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, II, 7, 8.

² Cf. *F. L.*, II, 11, 12.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, II, 13, 14.

⁴ *Dits et contes*, Vol. II, pp. 297 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 1 ff.

⁶ Cf. *F. L.*, I, 21.

Li uns pour l'autre s'efforchast;¹

A l'oïr m'orent tost emblé (24)

Mon cuer et en joie ravi.²

Altogether the place seemed like a "drois paradis." Farther on the poet continues:

Leveis ert en haut li soliaus, (91)

Si ert li tans et clers et biaux,

Li ore douche et atemprée;

Si ert revestie la préee

De verte herbe et de flours diverses,

Blanches, jaunes, rouges et perses;

Asés y ot d'arbres divers,

De fueille viestis et couviers,

Et fuison y ot de floris.

Soon the nightingale sang mass before Venus, and other birds joined in a beautiful service:

Ki chanter les ot, bien li samble (126)

Qu'onques nul jour chose n'oïst

De coi ses cuers tant s'esjoïst.

Among the other birds the goldfinch is mentioned (l. 173) as joining in a second "alleluye." After the service love suits were presented to the goddess. A sick man in a litter was healed by the sweet odor of leaves plucked from a rose (ll. 348 ff.) A company of canonesses in white, accompanied by many knights, complained of the action of certain gray-clad nuns in enticing their lovers away. With the ensuing debate we are not here concerned.

NICOLE DE MARGIVAL

In *La Panthère d'Amours*, by Nicole de Margival,³ the spring setting is not presented; but the action in some respects resembles that of *F. L.* The poet dreams that the birds carry him to a forest full of beasts, all of which, except the dragon, follow one particularly beautiful panther, with a sweet breath that can cure all imaginable ills. After a time the beasts all disappear, and the poet, left alone, hears the sound of music and sees a great company of richly attired people approaching him, singing and

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 447, 448.

² Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 101-3.

³ Ed. H. A. Todd, *Société des Anciens Textes Français* (Paris, 1883).

dancing. Among them is the God of Love, their king; and under his direction the poet undertakes a search for the beautiful panther which symbolizes his lady. She is finally found in a valley surrounded by a thorny hedge. Her breath is curative like the smell of the rose in *R. R.*, the laurel and the eglantine in *F. L.*, etc. The God of Love explains to the poet all this symbolism, very much as the lady in white explains the allegory of *F. L.*

WATRIQUET DE COUVIN

Several of the poems of Watrquet de Couvin, a diligent disciple of Guillaume de Lorris during the first half of the fourteenth century, contain details similar to those of *F. L.* Most of these poems may be summarized rapidly.

In *Li Dis de l'Arbre Royal*,¹ an elaborate compliment to the descendants of Philippe le Bel, the poet dreams that he is

En .i. bel vergier verdoiant, (20)
Loing de la ville, en .i. destour,
Enclos d'un haut mur tout entour.

He wanders, listening to the birds, till he comes to a wonderful tree—such a tree as was never seen before "en terre ne en mer."² Some lines farther on he continues:

Atant souz l'arbre errant m'assis, (118)
Que je ne voil plus atargier,
S'esgardai aval le vergier
Que de biaux iert suppelatis,
.
Ou douz mois qu'arbres rapareille
Flors et fueilles pour lui couvrir.

The scene of the *Tournois des Dames*³ is the "haute forest de Bouloigne," which is

plains de si grant melodie (83)
En avril quant li bois verdie,
Que nulz croire ne le porroit,
Qui li douz rousignol orroit
Chanter en icelle saison.

¹ *Dits de Watrquet de Couvin*, ed. A. Scheler (Bruxelles, 1868), pp. 83 ff.

² Cf. the description of the laurel and medlar trees in *F. L.*, ll. 86-88, 109-12.

³ *Dits*, pp. 251 ff.

La une pour l'autre s'efforçast;¹

A l'un n'eussent tout emblé (24)

Mais cour et en joie ravi.²

Altogether the place seemed like a "drois paradis." Farther on the poet continues:

Levers est en bas li solains. (91)

Si est li uns et ciers et bians.

Li tre d'anche et atempree:

Si est vestee la prée

De verte herbe et de fleurs diverses.

Blanches, jaunes, rouges et perses:

Aux y a li arbres divers.

De faine vistes et couviers.

Et fume y a de floris.

Soon the magnificent song mass before Venus, and other birds joined in a beautiful service:

Li chanter les a bien ensemble (126)

De l'unques nul jour chose n'oïst

De ces ses chers tant s'esjoïst.

Among the other birds the goldfinch is mentioned (l. 173) as joining in a second "service." After the service love suits were presented to the goldfinch. A sick man in a litter was healed by the sweet odor of leaves plucked from a rose (ll. 345 ff.) A company of troubadours in white, accompanied by many knights, complimented the action of certain gray-clad nuns in enticing their lovers away. With the ensuing debate we are not here concerned.

NAIVE IN MARGIVAL

In *Le Romance d'Amour*, by Nicole de Margival,³ the spring setting is not presented, but the action in some respects resembles that of *Le Roman de la Rose*. The poet dreams that the birds carry him to a forest full of beasts, all of which, except the dragon, follow one particularly beautiful panther, with a sweet breath that can cure all imaginable ills. After a time the beasts all disappear, and the poet, left alone, hears the sound of music and sees a great company of many armed people approaching him, singing and

¹ *Ch. de F.* l. 45. 46.

² *Ch. de F.* l. 110-1.

³ *Ch. de F.* l. 110-1. *Ch. de F.* l. 110-1. *Ch. de F.* l. 110-1.

Then after further description of the birds' song, the poet remarks:

Je ne sai d'autrui, mais à mi (52)
 Semble de l'ostel et de l'estre
 Ce soit fins paradis terrestre,¹
 Tant est de melodie plains.

And again:

Et puis i refont si grant noise (64)
 Cil autres oiselés menus,
 Qu'il n'est hons joenes ne chanus
 Grant deduit n'i poist avoir.

The goldfinch is mentioned among other birds.

*Li Dis de l'Escharbote*² also begins with a spring setting. The poet enters a garden, falls asleep, and dreams that he encounters a "sergent," very noble and courteous, in whose company he journeys through a valley to a beautiful city that seems like an "earthly paradise." This city is the world, in which blind Fortune reigns as mistress; and its inhabitants, following her lead in caring for nothing but pleasure, are precipitated into the bottom of the valley. They are like the "escharbote,"

Qui vole par les haus vergiez (211)
 De fleurs et de feuilles chargez,
 Où li roussignols chante et crie.³

Of all the poems of Watrquet de Couvin, however, *Li Dis de la Fontaine d'Amours*⁴ presents the most details worth citation. One morning in spring the poet says he found

Un vergier de lonc temps planté (7)
 Où d'arbres avoit grant plenté,
 Qui fait avoient couverture
 Et de couleur de maint tainture.
 Lors entrai dedenz sanz esmai
 En ce jolif termine en mai,
 Qu'oiselés de chanter s'esforce
 Au miex qu'il puet selonc sa force;
 En plusieurs liex, par divers chans,
 Mainent joie a ville et à champs,

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, I. 115.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 397 ff.

³ In contrast with the usual signification of the colors, as noted in chap. II above, the members of this company, with their slight resemblance to the green-clad followers of the flower, are clad in white. No specific significance is attached to the color, however.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 101 ff.

Et toute riens iert en delis.

Tantiert plains de grant melodie (23)
Cis vergiers, n'est hons qui vous die
Ne fame, de sa biauté nombre.
Pour reposer visai .i. ombre
Par desouz une ente florie,
Soutilment par compas norrie,
Et tainte en diverse couleur;
N'est hons, tant eüst de douleur,¹
Qu'à l'oudeur ne fust alegiez.

In this delightful place is the beautiful fountain of love, the subject of the poem.²

GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT

The poets and poems heretofore discussed, except *R. R.*, are of value in this investigation rather as showing how conventional certain elements of setting and machinery became, than as very likely to have had any direct influence upon the author of *F. L.* The case is different with a group of French poets now to be considered.

Oldest of these, and in many ways the master of the school, was Guillaume de Machaut. The opening lines of his *Dit du Vergier* were among the first French sources specifically suggested for *F. L.*,³ and deserve citation here:

Quant la douce saison repaire⁴
D'esté, qui maint amant esclaire,
Que prez et bois sont en verdour
Et li oisillon par boudour
Chantent, et par envoiseure,
Chascuns le chant de sa nature,
Pour la douceur du temps féri,⁵
Ou doulz mois d'avril le joli,
Me levay par un matinet,

¹Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 81-84.

²Other poems by Watrquet with the spring setting are (1) "*Li Miroirs as Dames*" (*Dits*, pp. 1 ff.); (2) "*Li Dis de l'Iraigne et du Crapot*" (pp. 65 ff.); (3) "*Li Diades .IIII. Sieges*" (pp. 163 ff.); (4) "*Li Dis des .VIII. Couleurs*" (pp. 311 ff.). In (2) and (3) the scene is a "verger;" in all the song of the birds is prominent; in (2) the poet falls asleep beneath a "buisson" and dreams. The nightingale and the hawthorn are several times mentioned.

³By Sandras, *Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 98. I quote from *Œuvres choisies de Machaut*, ed. Tarbé (Paris, 1840), pp. 11 ff. The text differs in some details from that given by Sandras.

⁴Cf. *F. L.*, l. 15.

⁵Sandras, *op. cit.*

Et entray en un jardinet
 Où il havoit arbres pluseurs,
 Flori de diverses couleurs.
 Si trouvay une sentelette¹
 Plainne de rousée et d'erbette,
 Par où j'alai sans atargier;
 Tant qu'à l'entrée d'un vergier
 Me fist adventure apporter.²
 S'entray pour moy déporter
 Pleins d'amoureuse maladie,
 Et pour oir le mélodie
 Des oisillons qui ens estoient,³
 Qui si très doucement chantoient
 Que bouche ne le porroit dire:
 N'onqs home vivans n'ot tant d'ire
 Que s'il peust leur chant oir
 Qu'il ne s'en deust resjoir,
 [En son cuer, et que sans sejour
 N'entroubliast toute douleur,]⁴
 Tant avoit en eulx de deliz.

When the poet heard the songs of the birds, especially of the nightingale, which sounded above all others, he went into the most beautiful garden he had ever seen, all sown with flowers of diverse colors, and planted with green and flowering trees.

S'ot en milieu un arbrissel
 De fleurs et de feuilles si bel,
 Si bel, si gent, si agréable
 Si tres plaisant, si délitable
 Et plein de si très bonne odour,
 Que nulz n'en auroit la savour,
 Tout fust ses cuers déconfortez⁵
 Qu'il ne fust tout réconfortez.

.
 Je ne scay que ce pooit estre
 Fors que le paradis terrestre.

From this place the poet passed into a meadow, where he had a vision, as follows:

Car il m'est vis que je veoie
 Au joli prael où j'estoie
 La plus très belle compaignie

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 43-45.

² *F. L.*, ll. 37, 38.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 81-84.

⁴ Sandras *aporcer*.

⁵ Not in Tarbé.

Qu'onques fust veue ne oïe :
 La avoit-il vi Damoisiaus
 Juenes, jolis, gentils et biaux ;
 Et si avoit vi Damoiselles
 Qui à merveilles estoient belles.
 Et dessus le bel arbrissel,
 Qui estoit en mi le praiel,
 Se séoit une créature
 De trop merveilleuse figure.

This was the God of Love. He wore on his head a

chappelet de rosettes,
 De muguet et de violettes.

At the poet's request the god explained the vision.

Machaut's *Dit dou Lyon*¹ also has the spring setting. The poet is roused by the song of the birds, goes into the country, and is conveyed in a magic boat to an island where he finds a beautiful garden which no one can enter who has not been faithful in love. As Sandras points out,² there are in this poem trees of uniform height and planted at equal intervals, as in *F. L.*—"genre de paysage déjà décrit par G. de Lorris et qui charmait les anciens Bretons."

*Le Dit de la Rose*³ begins with a rather brief description of a scene in May. Early one morning the poet wanders through a green meadow till he sees a "jardinet,"

Qui estoit de lès un vergier.

He enters and comes to—

un buisson d'espines
 Plein de rouses et de racines,
 Et de toutes herbes poingnans,
 Qu'au buisson estoient joingnans.
 Et si estoit par tel maistrie
 Hayes, qu'onque jour de ma vie
 Je ne vi haye ne haïette⁴
 Si bien ne si proprement faite.

¹ Extracts are found in *Œuvres choisies*, ed. Tarbé, pp. 40 ff., but I have not seen the whole poem.

² *Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 104.

³ Tarbé, *Œuvres choisies*, pp. 65 ff.

⁴ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 61-63.

Within the inclosure surrounded by this hedge there is a very beautiful rose, the sweetness of which cures all the ills of love. Manifestly the poem is an imitation of *R. R.*

JEAN FROISSART

Certain poems by the chronicler Froissart were early suggested as possible sources of parts of *F. L.*

Le Paradys d'Amour,¹ believed to be one of his earliest productions, is the account of a dream in which the poet is admitted within the "clos" of the God of Love, and then within a delightful garden where he finds his lady. The setting presents the usual elements: fresh grass, flowers, trees; songs of birds, including the nightingale; all the beauties of a day in May. Near the end of the conventional description the poet says:

Pour mieuls oïr les oiselées, (59)
M'assis dessous deux rainsselés²
D'aube espine toute florée.

A long complaint follows, after which two ladies, Plaisance and Esperance, appear and ultimately conduct the poet to a place where, he says:

Lors regardai en une lande, (957)
Si vi une compagne grande
De dames et de damoiselles
Friches et jolies et belles,
Et grant foison de damoiseaus
Jolis et amoureux et beaus,
Qui estoient là arresté
Et de treschier tout apresté.
Tout estoient de vert vesti,
N'i avoit ceste ne cesti.
Les dames furent orfrisies,
Drut perlées et bien croisées,
Et li signeur avoient cor
D'ivoire bendé de fin or.³

The poet asks who all these people are, and receives in answer a long list of names of famous lovers. A little farther on he comes

¹ *Poésies*, ed. Scheler; 3 vols., Paris, 1870-72; Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

² Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 117-19.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 324 ff. A portion of this passage is quoted by Sandras, *Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 101; but is erroneously said to be from *Le Temple d'Honneur*.

to the tent of the God of Love, to whom he sings a lay that is favorably received. After this interruption, the poet and his guides go on through a shady forest, singing and dancing, till they come to a meadow,

Où vert faisoit, plaisant et bel, (1456)
 Tout enclos de vermaus rosiers,
 D'anqueliers et de lisiers,
 Et là chantoit li rosignols
 En son chant qui fu moult mignos.
 Si trefos que son chant oi
 Moult grandement me resjoit.¹

Here he finds his lady and sings to her his ballade in praise of the marguerite.²

*L'Espinette amoureuse*³ is in general an account of Froissart's youth; but in one episode presents details of interest here, as follows:

Ce fu ou joli mois de may; (351)
 Je n'oc doubtaunce ne esmai,⁴
 Quant j'entrai en un gardinet;
 Il estoit assés matinot,⁵
 Un peu après l'aube crevant;
 Nulle riens ne m'aloit grevant,
 Mès toute chose me plaisoit,
 Pour le joli temps qu'il faisoit
 Et estoit apparant dou faire.
 Cil oizellon, en leur affaire,
 Chantoient si com par estri.⁶

 Je me tenoie en un moment, (380)
 Et pensoie au chant des oiseauls,
 En regardant les arbriseaus
 Dont il y avoit grant foison,
 Et estoie sous un buisson
 Que nous appellons aube espine.

At this time and place three ladies, Juno, Venus, and Pallas, and a youth, Mercury, appear to the poet and present the story of the apple of discord.⁷

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, II. 102, 108.

² *Poésies*, ed. Scheler; Vol. I, pp. 87 ff.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, I. 21.

⁴ Mentioned in chap. II, above, p. 158.

⁵ Cf. *F. L.*, I. 25.

⁶ Cf. *F. L.*, II. 447, 448.

⁷ A version of this story is also found in Lydgate's *R. S.* (see p. 310 below) introduced very much as by Froissart. Apparently the latter was imitating Lydgate's French original, *Les Echecs Amoureux*.

*Un Trettié Amourous à la Loenge dou Jolis Mois de May*¹ presents several points of interest. One day in May the poet,

Pensans à l'amoureuse vie, (1)

enters an inclosure made of rosebushes, osiers, etc., where the nightingale is singing. There, he continues:

Au regarder pris le vregié, (25)
 Que tout authour on ot vregié,
 De rainselés
 Espesement et dur margiet²
 Et ouniement arrengié;
 Au veoir les
 Ce sambloit des arbrisselés
 Qu'on les eulst au compas fais
 Et entailliés.
 D'oïr chanter les oiselés,
 Leur divers chans et leur motés,
 J'oc le coer lié.

There is mention of the sweet odor of leaves and flowers, and of the song of the nightingale, which like an "amorous dart" reminds the poet of his love.³

EUSTACHE DESCHAMPS

The eleven volumes in which the work of Machaut's friend and pupil, Eustache Deschamps, is now published⁴ contain, amid a great mass of didactic and satirical work, a number of references to May Day customs and several rather elaborate settings similar to that of *F. L.* The most noteworthy of these are found in *Le Lay Amoureux* and *Le Lay de Franchise*.

The former⁵ begins with a very elaborate description of spring. There is mention of the nightingale and other birds, with their songs; the renewal of meadows, fields, leaves, and flowers; of

L'aubespine que nous querons, (29)
 L'esglantier que nous odorons;

¹ *Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. II, pp. 194 ff.

² Cf. *F. L.*, II, 57, 58.

³ One other poem by Froissart, *Le dit dou bleu chevalier*, will be mentioned in connection with Lydgate's *B. K.* below.

⁴ Société des Anciens Textes Français, ed. De Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Vols. I-VI) and Raynaud (Vols. VII-XI), Paris, 1878-1903.

⁵ *Œuvres* de Deschamps, Vol. II, pp. 193 ff.

of "chapeaulx, qui en veult enquerre," and of

La marguerite nette et pure. (47)

Then follows an interesting description of May Day customs, telling how

princes et Roys (61)

Le premier jour de ce douz mois,

Chevaliers, dames, pucelletes,

Escuiers, clers, lays et bourgeois,

go to the woods to pick flowers, make garlands, sing songs, listen to the nightingale, and hold jousts, feasts, dances—merry-makings of all kinds—in honor of springtime and love. On such a morning as this the poet dreamed that when he was walking in a beautiful meadow, he saw, beneath a tall, green pine tree beside a brook, "un seigneur tressouverain," near whom were many people praying. In order better to see what should happen, the poet hid behind a hawthorn, and soon the God of Love appeared. The company beneath the tree was composed of the famous lovers of history and legend, as well as various allegorical characters. Some of the latter began a discussion, the burden of which proved to be that youth ought to love; and then after a time the company departed. The poet, in great fear, was discovered eavesdropping; but awoke unharmed immediately after he heard some of Love's company speak well of him.

Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise*¹ is of special importance because, as already noted, it has been singled out as a model for *F. L.*² The formal presentation of the setting in this poem is brief:

C'est qu'en douz mois que toute fleur s'avance, (8)

Arbres, buissons, que terre devenir

Veult toute vert et ses flours espanir,

Du mois de may me vint la souvenance

Dont maintes gens ont la coustume en France

En ce douz temps d'aler le may cueillir.

Le premier jour de ce mois de plaisance,

the poet goes forth at break of day thinking of his lady, who is described as a flower, the daisy.³ After a long tribute to her he continues:

¹ *Œuvres*, Vol. II, pp. 208 ff. See Vol. XI, p. 46, as to the occasion for this poem.

² By Professor C. F. McClumpha in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. IV, cols. 402 ff. See p. 135 above.

³ See discussion of the cult of the daisy, chap. II above.

Ainsis pensans vins par une bruiere (66)
 En un grant parc d'arbres et de fouchiere
 Qui fut fermé de merueilleus pouoir,

by means of various fortifications, elaborately described.

The poet, nevertheless, continues his pilgrimage:

Mais, en passant, vy ja dessus l'erbage (93)
 De damoiseaulx tresnoble compaignie
 Vestus de vert; autre gent de parage
 Qui portoient sarpes pour faire ouvrage
 Et se mistrent a couper le fueillie.
 Oultre passay qu'ilz ne me virent mie;
 En un busson me mis en tapinage
 Pour regarder de celle gent la vie
 Et pour oir la douce melodie
 Des rossignolz crians ou jardinage:
 "Occi iccy."

Other birds also sang, including the goldfinch. Moreover:

Parmi ce bois dames et damoiseaulx (118)
 Qui chantoient notes et sons nouveaulx
 Pour la douçour du temps qui fut jolis,
 Cueillans les fleurs, l'erbe, les arbressaulx,
 Dont ilz firent saintures et chappeaulx;
 De verdure furent touz revestis.
 Cilz jours estoit uns mondains paradis;
 Car maint firent des arbres chalemeaulx
 Et flajolez dont fleustoient toubis.

The grass was covered with sweet dew, which, besides being beautiful to look at, was of material assistance in renewing the growth of grass and flowers.

After a time, during which the poet listened to various private conversations about love, he heard a great noise

yssant d'une valée (145)
 Ou il ot gens qui venoient jouser.

Of course they were on horseback, and among them was a king of wonderful prowess;

Sur un coursier fut de vert appareil, (157)
 Accompaigniez de son frere pareil;
 Contes et dus, chevaliers et barons,
 Dames y ot, dont pas ne me merveil,

Haultes, nobles, plaines de doulz acueil
Qui de chapeaulx et branches firent dons.

In the joust that follows,

L'un sur l'autre font des lances tronçons (165)
Et se portent sur terre et sur buissons.
A l'assembler n'avoit pas grant conseil,
Ainçois queroit chascuns jousté a son vueil
Sanz espargnier chevaulx, bras ne talons.

Then the noise ceases, and they all kneel humbly before the king, who directs them to do honor to May. Various persons speak on subjects pertaining to love, and after a time the whole company adjourns to a "plaisant hosté," with a beautiful garden beside the Marne. This house is furnished in green and gold.

The poet comes out of his hiding-place, sees the feast spread before the king and his company, and then proceeds on his journey till he finds Robin and Marion (conventional pastoral characters) sitting under a beech tree and talking about the comforts of their life in contrast with the lives of kings. The latter part of the poem has no possible relation with *F. L.*

CHAUCER

Since the passages from Chaucer that resemble portions of *F. L.* have nearly all been pointed out by others,¹ it will not be necessary to deal with his work at such length as its importance in this connection would otherwise justify. As I have said, the author of *F. L.* was first of all an imitator of Chaucer, and detailed resemblances to the master are too numerous to mention. Only the more important parallels in plan and setting need be considered.

In *B. D.* we find the sleepless poet, who, moreover, as in *F. L.*, knows not why he cannot sleep.² Reading makes him drowsy at last, however, and he dreams that on a May morning he was wakened at dawn by the songs of "smaile foules a gret hepe," which sang a solemn service about the roof of his chamber.

Was never y-herd so swete a steven, (307)
But hit had be a thing of heven.³

¹ Especially by Professor Skeat, in *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*.

² Cf. *B. D.*, l. 34, with *F. L.*, l. 19.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 129-33.

After a time the poet rises to go hunting. While on the chase he follows one of the dogs

Doun by a floury grene wente (398)
 Ful thikke of gras, ful softe and swete,¹
 With floures fele, faire under fete,
 And litel used, hit seemed thus.

In the forest,

every tree stood by him-selve, (419)
 Fro other wel ten foot or twelve.²

With the later events of the poem we are not here concerned.

P. F. also has the dream setting. The time is St. Valentine's Day, instead of May, but the surroundings are those of spring. Wherever the poet casts his eye he sees "treës clad with leves that ay shal laste" (l. 173), including the oak and the laurel. Continuing, he says:

A garden saw I, ful of blosmy bowes, (183)
 Upon a river, in a grene mede,
 Ther as that swetnesse evermore y-now is.

 On every bough the briddes herde I singe (190)
 With voys of aungel in hir armonye;³

 Of instruments of strenges in accord (197)
 Herde I so pleye a ravissing swetnesse,
 That god, that maker is of al and lord,
 Ne herde never beter, as I gesse;
 Therwith a wind, unnethe hit might be lesse,
 Made in the leves grene a noise softe,
 Accordant to the foules songe on-lofte.⁴
 The air of that place so attempre was
 That never was grevaunce of hoot ne cold;
 Ther wex eek every holsom spyce and gras.

Under a tree beside a well the poet saw Cupid forge his arrows, while women danced about. In the sweet green garden he saw a queen, Nature, fairer than any other creature, in whose presence the birds held their parliament.

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 43-45.

² Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 31, 32.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, l. 123.

⁴ Cf. *F. L.*, l. 112.

In *T. C.*, just before the passage quoted in relation to the fixing of time by reference to the sun's position in the zodiac,¹ are the following interesting lines:

In May, that moder is of monthes glade,
That fresshe floures, blewe, and whyte, and rede,
Ben quike agayn, that winter dede made,²
And ful of bawme is fletinge every mede.

The familiar beginning of the Prologue to *C. T.* presents many details similar to those of the first two stanzas of *F. L.*: the astronomical reference already discussed; "Aprille with his shoures sote;" the springing-up of flowers; the wholesomeness of the air, and so forth. In other parts of *C. T.* there are only a few passages to which attention need be called.

It is on a May morning that Palamon and Arcite first see Emily. She has risen before dawn,

For May wol have no alogardye a-night. (A, 1042)
The sesoun priketh every gentil herte
And maketh him out of his sleep to sterte,
And seith, 'Arys, and do thyn observaunce.'

So she walks up and down the garden, gathering flowers

To make a sotel gerland for hir hede, (1054)
And as an angel heavenly she song.³

Again, it is when Arcite, on another May morning, has gone into the woods to "doon his observaunce" and to make himself a garland of woodbine or hawthorn leaves (A, l. 1508), that he finds Palamon in hiding.

More important than either of the passages from the *Knight's Tale*, however, is the description of May Day festivities in the *Franklin's Tale*. These took place on the "sixte morwe of May"—

Which May had peynted with his softe shoures⁴
This gardin ful of leves and of floures;
And craft of mannes hand so curiously
Arrayed hadde this gardin, trewely,
That never was ther gardin of swich prys,
But-if it were the verray paradys.⁵

¹ P. 281 above. *T. C.*, II, ll. 50-53.

² Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 11, 12.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, l. 123.

⁴ *C. T.*, F, ll. 901 ff.

⁵ Cf. *F. L.*, l. 4.

⁶ Cf. *F. L.*, l. 115.

Th'odour of floures and the fresshe sighte
 Wolde han maad any herte for to lighte¹
 That ever was born, but-if to gret siknesse,
 Or to gret sorwe helde it in distresse;
 So ful it was of beautee with plesaunce.

Of all Chaucer's poems, however, the Prologue to *L. G. W.* is most important in relation to *F. L.* Its mention of the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf has been discussed.² The action of the Prologue begins with the rising of the poet before daybreak, on the first of May, in order to see his favorite flower, the daisy (B, ll. 104-8). In greeting it he kneels

Upon the smale softe swote gras,³ (118)

which is "embrouded" with fragrant flowers. The earth has forgotten his "pore estat of wintir"⁴ (ll. 125, 126), and is newly clad in green. The birds, rejoicing in the season (l. 130), sing welcome to summer their lord, among the blossoming branches of the trees. All is so delightful that the poet thinks he might

Dwellen alwey, the joly month of May, (176)
 Withouten sleep, withouten mete or drinke.⁵

Amid such surroundings he sinks down among the daisies. Then after his second mention of the strife of the Flower and the Leaf (in text B) he continues:

And, in a litel herber that I have,⁶ (203)
 That benched was on turves fresshe y-grave,
 I bad men sholde me my couche make.

When he had gone to sleep in this "herber," he dreamed that as he lay in a meadow gazing at his beloved flower, he saw come walking toward him,

The god of love, and in his hande a quene, (213)
 And she was clad in real habit grene.

She wore a "fret of gold" on her head, surmounted by a white crown decorated with flowers; so that, with her green robe and her gold and white headdress, she resembled a daisy, stalk and flower. Behind the God of Love came a company of ladies who knelt in homage to the flower.

¹Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 38, 81-84.

²Chap. i above.

³Cf. *F. L.*, l. 52.

⁴Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 11, 12.

⁵Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 120, 121.

⁶Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 49-52.

JOHN GOWER

The machinery of Gower's voluminous *C. A.* is in part of the kind under consideration. After wandering in a wood for a time one day in May, the poet finds himself in a "swote grene pleine,"¹ where he bewails his misfortunes in love. The King and Queen of Love appear, and after some talk Venus bids the poet confess to Genius, her clerk. Then follows a long discourse by Genius on the seven deadly sins, with stories illustrating all of them, which constitute the main body of the poem. In these stories there are allusions to May Day customs,² but no striking similarities to *F. L.* Finally the poet prevails upon Genius to take a letter for him to Venus and Cupid; but the deities do not look with favor upon so old a would-be lover. He swoons at the rebuff, and has a vision of a great company of lovers wearing garlands of leaves, flowers, and pearls.³ There is a sound of music, such

That it was half a mannes hele (2484)

So glad a noise for to hie;

and members of the company dance and sing joyfully. The remainder of the action is of no present consequence.

THE CUCKOO AND THE NIGHTINGALE

C. N., already mentioned a number of times,⁴ presents additional points of interest. The poet first describes the power of love, which is felt most strongly in May, when the songs of the birds and the springing of leaves and flowers cause great longing to burn in the heart. Such love-sickness, even in so "old and unlusty" a person as this poet, has made him sleepless during "al this May." At last, during one wakeful night, he recalls a saying among lovers:

That it were good to here the nightingale (49)

Rather than the lewde cuckow singe.

And then I thoghte, anon as it was day,

I wolde go som whider to assay⁵

¹Book I, l. 113. References are to G. C. Macaulay's ed. of Gower's *Complete Works*, Vols. II, III (Clarendon Press, 1901).

²See Books I, ll. 2026 ff.; VI, ll. 1833 ff.

³Book VIII, ll. 2457 ff. Discussed in chap. i above.

⁴Pp. 155, 159, 163, above. *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 347 ff.

Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 30-43.

If that I might a nightingale here;
 For yet had I non herd of al this yere,
 And hit was tho the thridde night of May.

Accordingly at daybreak he went alone into a wood "fast by," and wandered along a brook till he came to the fairest land he had ever seen.

The ground was grene, y-poudred with daisye, (63)
 The floures and the gras y-lyke hye,
 Al grene and whyte; was nothing elles sene.

He sat down among the flowers and saw the birds come forth from their nests,

so joyful of the dayes light (69)
 That they begonne of May to don hir houres!

The stream also made a noise

Accordaunt with the briddes armonye (83)

such that

Me thoughte, it was the best[e] melodye (84)
 That mighte been y-herd of any mon.¹

Delighted with all these sights and sounds, the poet fell in a "slomber and a swow" (l. 87), in which he heard a *debat* between the cuckoo and the nightingale.

CHRISTINE DE PISAN

A number of the poems of Christine de Pisan present interesting settings or machinery.² For example, in *Le Dit de la Rose*, which has been mentioned³ in connection with symbolic orders, the poet represents that one day when a noble company saw assembled at the palace of the Duke of Orleans, the lady Loyauté appeared, surrounded by a company

De nymphes et de pucelletes (99)
 Atout chappelles de fleurettes,

who seemed to have just come from paradise. They were messengers of the God of Love, sent to form the Order of the Rose. They sang so sweetly

Que il sembloit a leur doulz chant (246)
 Qu'angelz feussent ou droit enchant

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 130, 131.

² For brief descriptions of spring see *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. Roy, Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris, 1886-96), Vol. I, pp. 35, 112, 236, 239, etc.

³ Chap. I above, pp. 128, 130, *Œuvres poétiques*, Vol. II, pp. 29 ff.

*Le Debat de deux Amans*¹ tells of a joyful company that gathered in May to dance and make merry in one of the parks of the Duke of Orleans. Alone and sad, however, the poet sat on a bench at one side watching the assembly, till two gentlemen, one a woe-begone knight and the other a happy young squire, agreed to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of love. In company with these men and some other ladies, the poet proceeds to a "bel vergier" where the debate takes place.

*Le Livre du Dit de Poissy*² presents a very elaborate spring-time setting. In gay April, when the woods grow green again, the poet rides forth to see her daughter at the convent of Poissy. In company with her are many ladies and gentlemen, enjoying to the full the beauties of the morning. Vegetation has been freshened by the dew; nothing on earth is ugly. Marguerites and other flowers are mentioned,

dont amant et amie (107)
Font chappelez.

Birds sing in the trees and bushes under the leadership of the nightingale. All these delights could not fail to banish grief. On their journey, the company enter a pleasant forest,

Et la forest espesse que moult pris (185)
Reverdissoit si qu'en hault furent pris
L'un a l'autre les arbres qui repris
Sont, et planté
Moult près a près li chaine a grant planté
Hault, grant et bel, non mie en orphanté,
Ce scevent ceulz qui le lieu ont hanté,
Si que soleil
Ne peut ferir a terre a nul recueil.
Et l'erbe vert, fresche et belle a mon vueil,
Est par dessoubz, n'eon ne peut veoir d'ueil
Plus belle place.

At the convent where the poet's daughter lives they find it like a "droit paradis terrestre" (l. 382). The latter part of the poem presents a "debat amoureux" with which we have no present concern.

¹ *Œuvres poétiques*, Vol. II, pp. 49 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 159 ff.

In Christine's *Livre du Duc des Vrais Amans*,¹ the hero, a young duke ripe for love, while out hunting one day, enters on a paved road that leads to a castle where a great company of people are disporting about their princess. As the duke and his companions draw near the castle, they are met by a "grant route" of ladies (l. 134), who welcome them most hospitably. The princess accompanies them to "un prael verdoyant" (l. 179), where she and the duke sit and talk beneath a willow beside a little stream. He falls in love with her, and henceforth his chief occupation is planning means of seeing her often. He invites her to a feast and joust, to be held in a "prairie cointe" where there are "herbarges" and "eschauffaulz" and "paveillons" (ll. 649, 653-55). In the evening the lady arrives with a noble company, including

Menestrelz, trompes, naquaires, (665)

Qui si haultement cournoient
Que mons et vaulz resonnoient.

The festivities held in her honor last several days and are very elaborately described. The jousts held are of special interest, because of the use of white and green costumes.² The remainder of the poem deals with the way in which this lady and the duke deceived her "jaloux" for a number of years.

JOHN LYDGATE

The work of Lydgate is of the utmost importance in relation to *F. L.*, not only because he was the most important imitator of Chaucer during the period when our poem was probably written, but also because a number of his early works, whether original or translated, contain passages strikingly similar to portions of *F. L.* Discussion of his works will be approximately in chronological order.³

The main part of *C. B.*⁴ begins with a description of the "chorle's" garden. It was

Hegged and dyked to make it sure and strong;

The benches turned⁵ with newe turvis grene;

¹ *Œuvres poétiques*, Vol. III, pp. 59 ff.

² Pp. 152, 153, 164, above.

³ Following §II, chap. viii, of Schick's Introduction to *T. G.*; E. E. T. S., 1891.

⁴ *M. P.*, ed. Halliwell, pp. 179 ff. Citations are from pp. 181, 182.

⁵ This should be "turved."

and there were "sote herbers." Further:

Amyddis the gardeyn stode a fressh lawrer,
Theron a bird syngyng bothe day and nyghte,
With shynnyng fedres brightar than the golde weere,
Whiche with hir song made hevy hertes lighte,
That to beholde it was an hevenly sighte,
How toward evyn and in the dawning,
She ded her payne most amourously to syngre.

.
It was a verray hevenly melodye,
Evyne and morowe to here the byrddis songe,
And the soote sugred armonye.

Lydgate's *B. K.* has already been mentioned.¹ After fixing the time very much as it is fixed in *F. L.*, the poet tells us that he awoke early and went, in the hope of finding solace for his sorrow,

Into the wode, to here the briddes singe,² (23)
Whan that the misty vapour was agoon
And clere and faire was the morowning.

On the leaves and flowers he found dew sweet as balm. Passing along a clear stream he came to

a litel wey³ (38)
Toward a park, enclosed with a wal
In compas rounde, and by a gate smal
Who-so that wolde frely mighte goon
Into this park, walled with grene stoon.

He went into the park and there heard the birds sing

So loude . . . that al the wode rong⁴ (45)
Lyke as it shulde shiver in peces smale;
And, as me thoughte, that the nightingale
With so gret mighte her voys gan out-wreste
Right as her herte for love wolde breste.

The soil was playn, smothe, and wonder softe
Al oversprad with tapites that Nature
Had mad her-selve, celured eek alofte
With bowes grene, the floures for to cure,
That in hir beautè they may longe endure
From al assaut of Phebus fervent fere,
Whiche in his spere so hote shoon and clere.

¹ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 245 ff.

² *Cl. F. L.*, l. 37.

³ *Cl. F. L.*, l. 43.

⁴ *Cl. F. L.*, ll. 99, 100.

The air was "attempre," and gentle zephyrs blew, so wholesomely that buds and blossoms delighted in the hope of bringing forth fruit. Among the trees in the park were "grene laurer,"

the fresshe hawèthorn (71)

In whyte motlè, that so swote doth smelle;

the oak, and many others. In the midst was a spring surrounded by young grass "softe as veluët." Its waters had magic power to

aswage¹ (100)

Bollen hertes, and the venim perce
Of pensifheed.

The poet took a long draught of this water, and forthwith was so much refreshed and eased of his pain that he started out to see more of the park. As he went through a glade he came to

a délitable place (122)

Amidde of whiche stood an herber grene²

That benched was, with colours newe and clene.

This arbor was full of flowers, among which, between a holly and a woodbine, lay a black-clad knight. To his complaint, which forms the burden of the poem, the poet listened from a hiding-place among some bushes.³

The time of *T. G.*⁴ is December, not spring; but the poem begins with an astronomical reference. After a long period of restlessness, the poet suddenly falls asleep and is

Rauysshid in spirit in [a] temple of glas. (16)

The place is "circulere in compaswise" (ll. 36, 37), and there is a wicket by which to enter. Within the poet sees pictures of many famous lovers. Before a statue of Venus kneels the most beauteous of ladies,

al clad in grene and white (299)

Enbrouded al with stones & perre.

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 81-84.

² Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 49-51.

³ Sandras (*Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 80) declared that *B. K.* is an imitation of Froissart's *Dit dou bleu chevalier* (*Poésies*, ed. Scheler, Vol. I, pp. 348 ff.). In general plan, it is true, the poems are similar, both to each other and to Chaucer's *B. D.* In details, however, *B. K.* is much more like *F. L.* than is Froissart's poem.

⁴ Ed. Schick, *E. E. T. S.*

She presents a "litel bil" to the goddess, and vows service in return for the latter's favor. She is given white and green branches of hawthorn for a chaplet and advised to be "unchanging like these leaves."¹ Finally,

with pe noise and heuenli melodie (1362)

Which pat pei [the birds] made in her armonye,

the author awoke, and resolved for love of his lady to write his "litel rude boke."

Lydgate's *Thebes*² is frankly on the model of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, and therefore can have no close resemblance to *F. L.* in plan; yet in many details it repays examination. Its Prologue begins with a rather elaborate astronomical reference:

Whan bright Phebus passed was the Ram

Midde of April, and into the Bull came,

.

Whan that Flora the noble mighty queene

The soile hath clad in new tender greene.

At this time Lydgate says he encountered a company of Canterbury pilgrims and agreed to tell them a tale. The tale does not concern us, but at the beginning of its second part there is another bit of description of spring, including the following line:

And right attempre was the holsome aire.³

Later, as Tideus, returning from Thebes, wounded after a combat with fifty knights, comes into "Ligurgus lond," he enters a garden "by a gate small,"

And there he found, for to reken all,

A lusty erber, vnto his deuise,

Sweet and fresh, like a paradise.

Here he lay down on the grass and slept till awakened by the lark when "Phebus" rose the next day. And "Ligurgus" daughter, who every morning came to the garden "for holesomnes of aire," found him and had his wounds cared for. In Part III, as Tideus and Campaneus ride about looking for water during a terrible drought, they enter by chance "an herbere,"

¹ As already noted, p. 138 above.

² Examined in Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, pp. 570 ff. This poem was written later than *R. S.*, but is mentioned out of chronological order that the discussion of Lydgate may end with *R. S.*

³ Cf. *F. L.*, l. 6.

With trees shadowed fro the Sunne shene,
 Ful of floures, and of hearbes grene,
 Wonder holsome of sight and aire,
 Therein a lady, that passingly was faire,
 Sitting as tho vnder a laurer tree.

She leads them to a river where they quench their thirst.

The most important of Lydgate's poems in connection with *F. L.*, however, is *R. S.*, "compyled" from the French *Echechs Amoureux*, a voluminous fourteenth-century imitation of *R. R.*¹ After an address to the reader, the poet presents an elaborate description of spring² in which we find nearly all the oft-repeated details. Spring clothes all the earth "with newe apparayle;" causes "herbes white and rede" to blossom in the meadows; makes the air "attempre," and rejoices all hearts. On such a spring morning the poet lies awake, "ententyf for to here" the birds' songs, when suddenly Dame Nature appears to him (l. 206). She reproves him for wasting time in bed,

Whan Phebus with his bemys bryght (450)
 Ys reysed vp so hygh alofte,³

and the birds are "syngyng ther hourys." She advises him to go out into the world "and see if anywhere her work fails in beauty."⁴ In response to his inquiry as to the way he should take, she suggests the eastern way of Reason rather than the western way of Sensuality.⁵ After her sermon Dame Nature leaves him, and he rises. When he is "clad and redy eke in [his] array" (ll. 910, 911), he goes forth into a "felde ful large and pleyn,"

Couered with flour[e]s fressh and grene (919)
 By vertu of the lusty quene,
 Callyd Flora, the goddesse.

It is so delightful that he forgets past events.

After a time he sees a path in which walk a company of four—Pallas, Juno, Venus, and Mercury. He is reminded of the history of each, and describes each at great length. Juno's clothing is

¹ *R. S.*, ed. E. Sieper, E. E. T. S., 1901, 1908. See also Sieper's "*Les Echechs Amoureux*, eine altfranzösische Nachahmung des Rosenromans und ihre englische Uebersetzung;" *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, IX. Heft (Weimar, 1898).

² Ll. 87 ff.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 1, 2.

⁴ Quoted from the marginal summary in Sieper's edition, Part I, p. 15.

⁵ A resemblance to the allegory of *F. L.* has been noted, chap. i above.

Fret ful of ryche stonys ynde¹ (1400)

Venus, as already noticed,² wears a chaplet of roses. Mercury carries a flute, of which "the sugred armonye" has more effect than sirens' songs. Seeing them come toward him the author

Ful humblely gan hem salewe.³ (1838)

Mercury tells him of the golden apple and asks him to award it. He gives it to Venus and agrees to be her "lyge man" (l. 2352). She tells him of her sons—Deduit, expert in music, dancing, and games; and Cupid, the God of Love—and of the "erber grene" (l. 2538) of Deduit, the beauty of which may be compared to that of paradise. In this garden he will find a lovely maiden, but he must first know Ydelnesse, the porter.⁴

Finally Venus departs and the author enters a great forest "ryght as a lyne,"

Ful of trees, (2729)
Massiffe and grete and even vpryght
As any lyne vp to the toppys,⁵
As compas rounde the fresshe croppis,
That yaf good air with gret suetnesse
Whos fressh beaute and grenesse
Ne fade neuer in hooete ne colde,
Nouther Sere, nor waxen olde,
.
The levis be so perdurable.

The plain about the forest is "tapited" with herbs and flowers. In the forest under an ebony tree he finds Diana, who makes clear to him her rivalry with Venus.⁶ But in spite of Diana's long account of the dangers that lurk in the garden of Deduit, and her eagerness to have the poet remain in her "forest of chastete," where

the tren in ech seson (4372)
Geyn al assault of stormes kene
Of fruyt and lefe ben al-way grene,

he prefers to see the beauty of the world and keep his vow to Venus.

After a time he comes to the "herber" he is seeking. On the walls are pictures resembling those described in *R. R.* He is

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 152, 153.

² Chap. II above.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 460, 461.

⁴ As in *R. R.* See above.

⁵ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 29, 30.

⁶ Discussed in chap. II, p. 141, above.

admitted by Ydelnesse and kindly greeted by Curtesye, who tells him the garden is intended only for sport and play and whatever may be "to hertys ese." He is "ravisshed" by the beauty, the "holsom ayr," the sweetness. There are herbs that would cure every malady, "freshe welle springis," nightingales singing "aungelyke" in the trees—everything, in fact, is so beautiful

That there is no man in hys wyt (5217)
The which koude ha levyd yt
Nor demyd yt in his entent,
But yif he had[de] be present.

Looking about the place he sees

Dedit and Cupide (5232)
With her folkys a gret Route,
.
By hem self[e] tweyn and tweyn,
Ful besely to don her peyn
Hem to play and to solace.
.
In karol wise I saugh hem goon, (5245)
And formhest of hem euerychoon
I saugh Dedit, and on his honde,
Confedred by a maner bonde,
Ther went a lady in sothnesse,
And hir name was gladnesse.

Next comes a long description of Cupid, with his two bows and ten arrows. He and his train go

Euerych vpon others honde, (5534)
.
Ay to gedre tweyn and tweyn,¹

They have all sorts of musical instruments and dance and sing beautifully. After a time the poet plays a game of chess with the beautiful maiden whom he seeks. In the midst of a long, allegorical, satirical description of the pieces, the translation breaks off at line 7042.

On the whole the resemblances between *R. S.* and *F. L.* are so varied and so striking, in both thought and form, that it seems impossible to doubt that Lydgate's poem or its original (and of course more likely the former) was familiar to our author.²

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, l. 235.

² In other poems of Lydgate, especially in *M. P.*, there are details resembling various parts of *F. L.*; but I have indicated the most important parallels.

ALAIN CHARTIER

Le Livre des quatre Dames,¹ "compilé par Maistre Alain Chartier," apparently not long after the battle of Agincourt, begins with a very elaborate description of the conventional spring setting. On the pleasant morning of the first day of spring the poet goes forth into the fields in the hope of banishing his melancholy. He says:

Merchai l'herbe poignant menue,
Qui mit mon cuer hors de soucy,
Lequel auoit esté transsy
Long temps par liesse perdue.
Tout autour oiseaulx voloient,
Et si tres-doulcement chantoient,
Qu'il n'est cuer qui n'en fust ioyeux.²

He stopped in a "pourpris" of trees, thinking about his miserable fortune in love and watching a brook that ran beside a

pré gracieux, où nature
Sema les fleurs sur la verdure,
Blanches, iaunes, rouges & perses.
D'arbes flouriz fut la ceinture.

Near by was a mountain with a very beautiful grove on its slope. The poet aimlessly took a path,

Longue & estroite, où l'herbe tendre
Croissoit tres-drue, & vng pou mendre³
Que celle qui fut tout autour.

With the people whom he met along this path we have here no concern.

Chartier's *La Belle Dame sans Mercy* may be examined most conveniently in the English version once attributed to Chaucer, but in reality by Sir Richard Ros.⁴ The translator represents that, "half in a dreme" and burdened with his task of translation, he rose and made his way to a "lusty green valey ful of floures," where he managed to accomplish his work. The original poet tells of riding a long time, until he hears music in a garden and is welcomed by a party of banqueters. Among them is a woe-

¹ *Œuvres*, ed. Du Chesne, Paris, 1617, pp. 594 ff.

² Cf. *F. L.*, I. 38.

³ Cf. *F. L.*, I. 52.

⁴ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 299 ff.

begone knight who has eyes for but one lady. After dinner there is dancing; but the poet has no heart for it and sits alone,

behynd a trayle (184)

Ful of leves, to see, a greet mervayle,
With grene withies y-bounden wonderly;
The leves were so thik, withouten fayle,
That thorough-out might no man me espy.¹

From this hiding-place he sees the sorrowful knight dance with his lady and then withdraw to "an herber made ful pleasauntly," where follows a long discussion of no interest in this study.

CHARLES D'ORLEANS AND OTHER LYRIC POETS

Among the works of Charles d'Orleans, whose ballades on the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf have been cited,² there is no long poem presenting a setting or machinery similar to that of *F. L.*; but scattered here and there with considerable frequency are allusions to such common topics as the sleeplessness of lovers,³ the joy that comes in spring, especially to lovers,⁴ the revival of plant life,⁵ the songs of the birds,⁶ and May Day customs in general.⁷

The same is true of such collections of lyric poetry as Gaston Paris' *Chansons du XV^e siècle*.⁸ Often the poets represent themselves as rising before dawn—sometimes owing to sleeplessness caused by love—and entering some beautiful garden or meadow, in which they find their ladies, or pluck flowers, or listen to the birds. Some of these poems are *pastourelles* of the type already described.⁹ Others worth special mention are numbers xlix and lxx. Scheler's collection from the *Trouvères belges*¹⁰ and Tarbé's from the *Chansonniers de Champagne*¹¹ include similar poems; as, indeed, do other collections of lyric poetry.

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, II. 67-70.

² Chap. i above.

³ *Poésies*, ed d'Héricault, Vols. I, p. 21; II, p. 5, etc.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 21, 65, 148, 218; II, pp. 10, 114, etc.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 48, 114, etc.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 65; II, p. 115, etc.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 65, 79; II, pp. 94, 122, 214, etc.

⁸ Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1875.

⁹ P. 223 above.

¹⁰ Pp. 35, 147; nouvelle série, p. 4.

¹¹ Pp. 26, 92.

LE DEBAT DU CŒUR ET DE L'ŒIL

In the fifteenth-century French amplification of the Latin *Disputatio inter cor et oculum*,¹ there is a good deal of machinery corresponding in an interesting way to that of *F. L.* One May Day the poet goes out to hunt. Hearing feminine voices, he dismounts and is soon graciously greeted by a number of ladies who come from the forest, wearing chaplets of flowers, and singing with such sweetness that their song would have given new life to a heart immeasurably troubled. This company soon withdraw, but the knight is moved to search especially for one of them, who seemed to him like an angel. During his search he sees, under a pine beside a fountain, a great number of women, accompanied by gentlemen well arrayed. Two of these gentlemen invite him to join the ladies; but, unable to find his beloved in the company, he falls asleep beneath the tree, and dreams of a debate between his heart and his eye. After fruitless argument, it is agreed that the controversy shall be settled by single combat before Amours. Very rich preparations are made, with lavish use of precious stones. The company of Eye are clad in green "pervenche."² Heart has a seat of eglantine in his pavilion. Certain "escoutes," armed with marguerites, are to give the champions

De vert lorier lanches petites.

Further details are of no consequence in this place.

THE KING'S QUAIR

The much-admired poem long attributed to King James I of Scotland³ begins with a fixing of the time by astronomical reference. After passing a sleepless night—"can I noght say quharfore"—the poet decides to tell in verse his own story. He hurries rapidly over his voyage, his shipwreck, his imprisonment by the English, till one spring day when, as he looks out of his prison window, he sees—

¹ *Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. T. Wright (Camden Society, 1841); Appendix, pp. 310 ff. The English version mentioned by Warton (*History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, p. 187) and by Wright (note, pp. xxiii, xxiv, in edition of Mapes), I have not seen. I understand it is soon to be printed by Dr. Eleanor P. Hammond. The Latin original is of no consequence in this study, because it does not present the setting and machinery of the French *debat*.

² A fact which should have been noted in chap. ii above, p. 150.

³ *The King's Quair*, ed. Skeat; S. T. S., 1884.

maid fast by the touris wall (stanza 31)
 A gardyn faire, and in the corneris set
 Ane herbere grene, with wandis long and small
 Railit about; and so with treis set
 Was all the place, and hawthorn hegis knet,
 That lyf was non walking there forby,
 That myght within scarce ony wight aspye.¹

.
 And on the small(e) grene twistis sat (33)
 The lytill suete nyghtingale, and song
 So loud and clere, the ympnis consecrat
 Off lufis vse.

After listening to the bird's songs awhile and meditating on them, the poet sees walking in the garden (very much as Palamon and Arcite saw Emily)

The fairest or the freschest jong(e) floure (40)
 That euer I sawe.

He at once vows service to Venus, and bewails his plight when the lady leaves the garden. Finally, after

Phebus endit had his bemes bryght, (72)
 And bad go farewele euery lef and floure,

he falls asleep, and is carried in dreams to the palace of Venus. Here he sees "a warld of folk." A voice explains who they are—

the folke that neuer change wold (83)
 In lufe;²
 the princis, faucht the grete batailis; (85)

and others who served love in any way. Cupid is there, and Venus, wearing a chaplet of roses. Venus agrees to help the poet in his suit. Her tears cause the flowers to grow,

That preyen men (117)
 Be trewe of lufe, and worschip my seruise.

Hence it is that,

Quhen flouris springis, and freschest bene of hewe, (119)
 And that the birdis on the twistis sing,
 At thilke tyme ay gynnen folk renewe
 That seruis vnto loue.

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 67-70.

² Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 485-87.

The further wanderings of the poet are of no consequence in relation to *F. L.*¹

LATER POEMS—ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH

Thus far we have been examining works which were, either certainly or possibly, early enough to have influenced the author of our poem. It now seems desirable to add very brief mention of several later works that present similar features—that belong, in a sense, to the school of *F. L.*

Professor Skeat has made much of such resemblances as there are between *F. L.* and *A. L.*;² but in reality they are not very numerous or striking, being mostly in the commonplaces of Chaucerian imitation. *A. L.* belongs much more definitely than *F. L.* to the Court of Love group.³ The time is September, not spring; but there is an "herber" of the usual sort, and a company of ladies. The action in no way resembles that of *F. L.*

Chaucer's Dream, or *The Isle of Ladies*, as Professor Skeat prefers to call it,⁴ is also in part a Court of Love poem. A "world of ladies" appear with their knights before the Lord of Love, who is "all in floures." A good many details are reminiscent of *F. L.*

Various points of resemblance between *F. L.* and *C. L.*⁵ have been pointed out in chap. ii above. Still more might be added, if minute attention were paid to details in imitation of Chaucer; but there is no important similarity between the two poems in the matter of setting and machinery.

The Scottish *Lancelot of the Laik*⁶ is of some interest as showing how the conventional setting of love allegory was sometimes taken over into other kinds of poetry. The poet tells of coming, one spring day, to a garden, which was

¹ The resemblances noted above, and in Mr. Henry Wood's article on "Chaucer's Influence on James I," *Anglia*, Vol. III, pp. 223 ff., seem to indicate that the author of *The King's Quair* knew *F. L.*, and was directly alluding to it. If this is true, and James I was the author of the Scottish poem (an undecided question), *F. L.* must be dated earlier than Professor Skeat inclines to date it.

² *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 380-404 (text), lxi, lxx (Introduction), 535-58 (notes).

³ As stated by Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, p. 150.

⁴ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. xiv, xv. Text consulted, Chalmers' *English Poets*, Vol. I, pp. 378 ff.

⁵ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, pp. 400 ff.

⁶ Ed. Skeat, E. E. T. S. (1865).

al about enweronyt and Ielosit (53)
 One sich o wyss, that none within supposit
 Fore to be sen with ony vicht thare owt;¹
 So dide the levis clos it all about.

There he falls asleep, and has a dream that causes him to write the story of Lancelot. Other details besides those about the garden indicate that the author knew *F. L.*²

Several of Dunbar's poems present interesting features. *The Goldyn Targe*³ has the spring setting, with a vision of a hundred ladies in green kirtles, including Venus and Flora, followed by "ane othir court," headed by Cupid and also arrayed in green. In *The Thistle and the Rose*⁴ the poet is awakened early by May, "in brycht attair of flouris," and follows her to a garden where there is an assembly of beasts and birds and flowers.⁵ *The Merle and the Nightingale*⁶ is a *debat* somewhat resembling *C. N.*, with a similar May setting. *The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo*⁷ is also worth mention for its descriptions of spring.

Gavin Douglas, like the others of the Scottish school of Chaucer, seems to have known *F. L.* as well as the genuine works of his master.⁸ *The Palice of Honour*⁹ begins with the rising of the poet one day in May, and his entrance into a beautiful garden, where he sees a great company of ladies and gentlemen on their way to the palace of Honour. They are soon followed by the courts of Diana and Venus, the latter in a car drawn by horses in green trappings. She is accompanied by her son dressed in green.¹⁰

Sir David Lyndesay, in his *Testament and Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papyngo*,¹¹ tells of entering his "garth" to repose

¹ Cf. *F. L.*, ll. 66-70.

² See especially ll. 335-42, 2068-69, 2471-87. There are also apparent allusions to *L. G. W.*, as in l. 57.

³ *Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. J. Small, S. T. S. (1893); Vol. II, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 183 ff.

⁵ Obviously in part an imitation of Chaucer's *P. F.*

⁶ *Poems*, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 30 ff.

⁸ See P. Lange, "Chaucer's Einfluss auf Douglas," *Anglia*, Vol. VI, pp. 46 ff.

⁹ *Poetical Works of Douglas*, ed. J. Small (Edinburgh, 1874), Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁰ This example of the use of green, together with that given above from Dunbar's *Goldyn Targe*, may be added to the list in chap. ii above, pp. 150, 151.

¹¹ *Poetical Works* (E. E. T. S.), pp. 223 ff.

among the flowers. There is the usual astronomical reference and the usual description of a spring landscape. From under

ane hauthorne grene,

Quhare I mycht heir and se, and be unsene,

the poet hears the complaint which is the burden of his work. *Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Misera-byll Estait of the World*¹ has a Prologue telling how the sleepless poet fared forth into a park one May morning before sunrise, in the hope of banishing his melancholy by hearing the birds sing. He met an old man who made a long recital of history. The setting of *The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay*² is also of some interest.³

SUMMARY

It should now be clear that most of the elements of the setting and most of the machinery of *F. L.* were decidedly conventional before the first half of the fifteenth century. The spring setting, with almost infinite repetition of details, is found in the earliest lyrics, in nearly all the poems of the Court of Love group,⁴ occasionally in other allegorical poems,⁵ in religious poems,⁶ in *chansons de geste* and metrical romances,⁷ in political poems,⁸ and even in prose romances and treatises.⁹ The description of springtime

¹ *Poetical Works* (E. E. T. S.), pp. 1 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 263 ff.

³ "The Justes of the Month of May" (Haslitt, *Popular Poetry*, Vol. II, pp. 209 ff.), of the latter part of the reign of Henry VII, contains several passages suggesting influence by *F. L.*

⁴ See Professor Neilson's dissertation, *passim*, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI.

⁵ As in *Piers the Plowman*, which begins on a May morning with a vision of a "faire felde ful of folke" (B, l. 17). See also *Le chemin de vaillance*, as analysed in *Romania*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 584 ff.; de Guilleville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, as translated by Lydgate (ed. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., 1899-1904).

⁶ E. g., a macaronic French and Latin Hymn to the Virgin in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, ed. Wright and Halliwell, Vol. I, p. 200; Hoccleve's *Minor Poems*, ed. Furnivall (E. E. T. S., 1892), Vol. I, p. 67; Lydgate's *Edmund*, in Horstmann's *Altenglische Legenden* (Neue Folge, 1881), p. 443, ll. 233 ff.

⁷ E. g., *Aye d'Avignon*, ed. Guessard and Meyer (Paris, 1861), ll. 2576-81; *The Bruce* ed. Skeat (S. T. S., 1884), beginning of Book V; the *Sowdone of Babylone*, ed. Hausknecht (E. E. T. S., 1881), ll. 963 ff.; *The Squyr of Low Degre*, ed. Mead (Athenæum Press, 1904), ll. 27 ff., 43 ff., 57, etc.

⁸ See *Political Songs of England*, ed. Wright (Camden Society, 1839), pp. 3, 63.

⁹ See, for example, a passage quoted from *Guerin de Montglave* in Dunlop's *History of Prose Fiction*, ed. Wilson (Bohn Library, 1888), Vol. I, p. 311; *Le livre des faits de Boucicault* (perhaps by Christine de Pisan), in *Memoirs pour servir à l'histoire de la France*, Vol. II, p. 226; the Prologue to *The Book of the Knight of la Tour-Landry*, ed. T. Wright (E. E. T. S., 1868). Of course other examples could be found. I have made no exhaustive search in works of this kind.

phenomena in *F. L.* most closely resembles passages in Chaucer and Lydgate.¹ The sleepless poet is a familiar figure in mediæval literature.² Because of his pretended ignorance of the cause of his sleeplessness in both *F. L.* and *B. D.*,³ indebtedness of the former to Chaucer seems extremely probable. Rising before dawn, or about dawn, and going into a pleasant meadow or grove or garden was clearly a common pleasure of poets. The most notable passages in this connection are in Machaut, Froissart, Deschamps, Chaucer, and Lydgate. The regularity of the grove in *F. L.* appears to have been suggested by either Lydgate's *R. S.*, or Chaucer's *B. D.*, with a line of indebtedness probably running back to *R. R.* One of the main objects of the poet's early rising is usually to hear the birds sing, especially the nightingale. The most striking parallelism in this respect appears to be, as Professor Skeat points out, between *F. L.* and *C. N.*⁴ The "path of litel brede," overgrown with grass and weeds,⁵ was found by other poets on other morning walks. In Machaut and Chartier the poet took this path aimlessly; yet here, as in so many other places, the closest resemblance is to Chaucer (*B. D.*), in the observation that the path is "litel used." The "herber" to which the path leads is found almost everywhere. In French it is usually a "vergier;" in English the form is nearly always "herber." In Chaucer's *L. G. W.*, Lydgate's *C. B.* and *B. K.*, in *F. L.* and *A. L.* this arbor is said to be "benched;" in *L. G. W.*, *C. B.*, and *F. L.*, "benched with turves"—a similarity in minute detail that indicates indebtedness of all the later poems to *L. G. W.* Usually the arbor or garden is inclosed by a hedge or a wall, and in a number of instances the poets represent themselves as in hiding. Attributing healing power to the odor of the eglantine of which the hedge is made is but one example of a very common device. The passage in *F. L.* on this subject seems most like passages in

¹ Owing to the number of specific comparisons already suggested between passages in *F. L.* and in works analyzed above, I shall not usually make direct reference to previous pages of this chapter.

² See Neilson in *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 183, 185, 186, 190, 206, 216; Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, p. 33; besides the instances given in this chapter.

³ Repeated also in *The King's Quair*.

⁴ *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, note p. 530.

⁵ *F. L.*, ll. 42-45.

Couvin's *Fontaine d'Amours*, Machaut's *Dit du Vergier*, and Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*.

After the poet reached his "vergie" or "herber," it was his usual custom to sit down beneath a bush or a tree, and there either fall asleep and dream, or see visions without the aid of sleep. Of such visions a company like our poet's "world of ladies" and "rout of men at arms"¹ was a very common feature. Often such a company is connected with the Court of Love convention.² Sometimes there may be reference to stories of the singing and dancing of companies of fairies.³ But probably in many cases the vision was suggested by the fact that on May Day and other popular holidays such companies actually did gather to sing and dance and engage in sports of various kinds. The vogue of *R. R.* seems to have been in part responsible for the commonness of such companies in later poetry; but on account of details as to the costumes,⁴ the author of *F. L.* appears most likely to owe direct debts in this matter to Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours*, Deschamps's *Lay de Franchise*, Christine de Pisan's *Duc des Vrais Amans*, Chaucer's *L. G. W.*, Gower's *C. A.*, and Lydgate's *R. S.*

On the whole, then, only one conclusion is possible: that whatever merits of combination and expression *F. L.* may possess, its setting and machinery are a tissue of conventionalities owing most to Chaucer and his earlier imitators (a group to which our author belonged), and much—no doubt partly through Chaucer and perhaps Lydgate—to *R. R.* and the French works influenced by that poem.

CHAPTER IV. GENERAL CONCLUSION AS TO SOURCES

Before endeavoring to decide, in the light of the foregoing evidence, what were the actual sources of *F. L.*, it is desirable to examine briefly the suggestions previously made on this subject.

¹ *F. L.*, ll. 137, 136.

² See Neilson's dissertation, *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VI, *passim*.

³ This theory as to the origin of the companies in *F. L.* was suggested to me by Professor Schofield, of Harvard. In view of the frequent occurrence of such companies, however, in poems containing no clear reference to fairy lore, and in view, further, of the common mediæval pageantry in connection with all sorts of celebrations, it seems improper to assume any conscious use of fairy lore on the part of the author of *F. L.*

⁴ Discussed especially in chap. II above.

Many of these have been mentioned already and may be dismissed rather summarily.

Dryden, in the Preface to *Fables* (1700), says *F. L.* is of Chaucer's own invention, "after the manner of the Provençals." The quoted phrase can apply only to the setting and spirit of the poem. I have found no close parallel to it in Provençal; but in certain ways it is an outgrowth of the influence of the Provençal idea of courtly love upon the French poets of the north, who in turn influenced Chaucer in his earlier work.

In Urry's edition of Chaucer (1721), the reference to the strife of the Flower and the Leaf in the Prologue to *L. G. W.* is first pointed out, and assumed to be a direct allusion to our poem. The indebtedness, however, was on the other side; *L. G. W.* is probably the most important direct source of *F. L.*

Tyrwhitt's comments on *F. L.* are only incidental, in the Appendix to the Preface to his edition of *C. T.* (1775). He doubts the accuracy of Dryden's statement that our poem is "after the manner of the Provençals," and suggests that the worship of the daisy may have been inspired by Machaut's *Dit de la Fleur de Lis et de la Marguerite* or Froissart's *Dittié de la Flour de la Margherite*.¹ Apparently, however, it is unnecessary to go farther than to Chaucer for suggestion of the part the daisy plays in *F. L.*; except in search of the "bargaret" sung by the followers of the Flower,² and of the reason for giving these followers so frivolous a character. Nevertheless it is not at all unlikely that both Machaut's and Froissart's poems on the daisy, as well as Deschamps' compliments to that flower, were known to our author, as they probably were to Chaucer.³

In Warton's *History of English Poetry* (completed 1781) there is considerable comment on *F. L.*, a large part of it in elaboration or criticism of Tyrwhitt. Thus in a footnote⁴ Warton combats Tyrwhitt's assertion that Chaucer did not directly imitate the Provençal poets. *F. L.*, he says, "is framed in the old allegorizing spirit of the Provençal writers, refined and disfigured

¹ See chap. II above, pp. 157, 158.

² *F. L.*, II. 348-50.

³ See Professor Lowes' article previously referred to, p. 124, n. 1, above.

⁴ *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt (1871), Vol. II, p. 208.

by the fopperies of the French poets in the fourteenth century." Farther on he analyzes our poem with some care,¹ and refers to the panegyric on the daisy in *L. G. W.*; to Machaut's and Froissart's poems on the daisy; to Margaret of Navarre's collection of poems called *Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses*; and to the fact that "it was common in France to give the title of *Marguerites* to studied panegyrics and literary compositions of every kind both in prose and verse." Then he proceeds to the suggestion that the fancies of our poet "seem more immediately to have taken their rise from the Floral Games instituted in France in the year 1324, which filled the French poetry with images of this sort." Some description of these games follows. Later, in his discussion of Gower,² Warton suggests that the tale of Rosiphele,³ of which he quotes a large part, is imitative of *F. L.* For "farther proof that the *Floure and Leafe* preceded the *Confessio Amantis*" he cites the lines from Book VIII of the latter, referring to garlands—

Some of the lef, some of the flour.⁴

One remaining reference to *F. L.* is in relation to its influence upon Dunbar's *Golden Targe*.⁵

Clearly the new matter brought forth by Warton is not of great importance. His additions in relation to the cult of the daisy show only something of its vogue long after the date of our poem, for the verses of Margaret of Navarre were not collected till 1547. His paragraph about the Jeux Floraux is full of errors; for he seems to have thought the whole of France participated in these festivities, and thus greatly exaggerates their influence in the north. I have not found any reason for believing that *F. L.* was directly influenced by the Jeux Floraux.⁶ Finally, Warton's comment on our author's relations with Gower must of course be reversed, for beyond reasonable doubt *F. L.* is later than *C. A.* Resemblances between parts of the two poems have, as I have shown,⁷ been exaggerated.

¹ *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, pp. 8 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 29 ff.

³ *C. A.*, Book IV, ll. 1245 ff. See chap. ii above, pp. 166, 167.

⁴ See chap. i, above, p. 124.

⁵ *History of English Poetry*, ed. Hazlitt, Vol. III, p. 209.

⁶ See chap. i above, p. 129.

⁷ Pp. 124, 125, 166, 167 above.

Godwin, in his *Life of Chaucer* (1801), analyzes *F. L.* at considerable length and praises it very highly, especially as it appears in Dryden's version, but adds very little as to sources. He combats the idea that the worship of the daisy came from Machaut or Froissart, on the ground that Chaucer himself had already originated it in *C. L.*, which he wrote in 1346! Since the best scholars are now convinced that this poem can hardly be earlier than 1500, comment is unnecessary. Godwin thinks *F. L.* "has the air of a translation," and that the original author was a woman—suggestions which are not intrinsically unreasonable, though entirely unproved.

Todd, in his *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer* (1810), collects and elaborates the suggestions of his predecessors, but adds nothing of consequence.

Sandras, the next important commentator,¹ pursues a very different method. Practically all his suggestions are new, and most of them—although somewhat too dogmatically stated—are valuable. The introduction of *F. L.*, he says, is indebted to Machaut's *Dit du Vergier*, from which he quotes most of the portion to be found on pp. 291-93 above. He also observes that in Machaut's *Dit du Lyon* there are trees of uniform height, planted at equal intervals, as in our poem. In nearly all the *ditiés* of Machaut and Froissart he finds scenes analogous to that of the appearance of the company of ladies of the Leaf led by Diana. To two of these scenes he makes reference: in Machaut's *Dit du Vergier* and in Froissart's *Temple d'Honneur*.² His most important contribution, however, is mention of Deschamps' three ballades on the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf.³ The text of these, with an invitation to write on the same subject, he believes Chaucer may have received from Philippa of Lancaster, to whom one of the ballades is addressed.⁴ Finally Sandras suggests that the end of our poem recalls the *Lai du Trot*.

His chief error—except, of course, in the matter of Chaucerian authorship—consists in assuming too much from resemblances of

¹ *Étude sur Chaucer* (Paris, 1859).

² An error for *Paradys d'Amour*, as noted above.

³ Discussed in chap. I above.

⁴ Professor Kittredge makes a similar suggestion in *Modern Philology*, Vol. I, pp. 5, 6, without noting Sandras' previous comment.

F. L. to single works. Machaut's *Dit du Vergier* unquestionably does resemble the English poem in its setting and part of its action; but so do Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise* and Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour*—to select only two of the most notable French examples. Hence it is impossible to say dogmatically that the highly conventional introduction of *F. L.* is from one particular source. The conclusions reached in chap. iii above show the inadequacy of all Sandras' comments except in relation to the ballades of Deschamps. Some of the works he mentions may have influenced our author, but they can not be singled out to the exclusion of others. The ballades of Deschamps, however, must have had influence in the writing of *F. L.* I have already said that it seems unnecessary to assume a knowledge of the *Lai du Trot*.¹

Ten Brink, in his *Chaucer Studien* (1870), presented the earliest comprehensive and adequate proof that *F. L.* was not by Chaucer,² but added nothing in relation to sources.

Professor C. F. McClumpha, in 1889,³ suggested that Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise* was a poetic model for *F. L.* Practically all the resemblances pointed out with emphasis in his article are shown in the analysis of Deschamps' poem in chap. iii above, from which it should be clear that the *Lay de Franchise* is hardly more like *F. L.* than a number of other works.⁴ To be sure, Deschamps' young men gathering flowers are clad in green; but I have pointed out several examples of like companies similarly clad. And even the description of the jousting, which is the most significant feature of Deschamps' poem in relation to *F. L.*, seems hardly so important as a similar description in Christine de Pisan's *Duc des Vrais Amans*, because of the specific contrast of white and green costumes in the latter. These errors are akin to those of Sandras—of a negative rather than a positive sort; but in his zeal to make out a good case Professor McClumpha falls into a positive blunder of interpretation, when he says that Deschamps "attaches a brief comparison of the flower and the

¹ End of chap. ii above.

² Pp. 156 ff.

³ *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. IV, cols. 402 ff.

⁴ Most notably those first mentioned by Sandras.

leaf." He does do this in his ballades, but not in the *Lay de Franchise*. On the whole, it is quite impossible to agree that "the similarity of these two poems is so apparent that one must have suggested the other, if, indeed, a nearer relationship may not be assumed." The *Lay de Franchise* unquestionably belongs to a group of poems, any one or all of which, either directly or through Chaucer and Lydgate, may have influenced our author; but we cannot say dogmatically that it or any other one of them, particularly, was the model for *F. L.*¹

Professor Skeat, in his various comments on our poem, has made no important addition to our knowledge of its sources—has, in fact, ignored the most important suggestions previously made (by Sandras). He has, however, pointed out numerous similarities between passages of *F. L.* and of other English poems, especially those of Chaucer. Such verbal resemblances as he mentions usually indicate nothing but close imitation of Chaucer; the important resemblances in idea I have already discussed.

It must be admitted that a majority of the works most likely to have influenced our author had been pointed out before this investigation was begun. Chaucer's and Deschamps' references to the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf were known; but the latter had not been examined for specific resemblances to *F. L.* Discussion of Charles d'Orleans' ballades in this connection is new; and most of the material in the latter part of chap. i and the whole of chap. ii is here put together for the first time. No adequate idea had been given of the conventionality of the setting and machinery of our poem, and therefore too much was assumed from resemblances between *F. L.* and two poems of Machaut and Deschamps. I have pointed out almost infinite repetition of nearly all the details of the setting, and several poems which, in their combination of many such details, seem as likely to have influenced our author as Machaut's *Dit du Vergier* or Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise*. Among these are *R. R.*, the fundamental importance of which in this connection had not been recognized; Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour*; and poems by Christine de Pisan

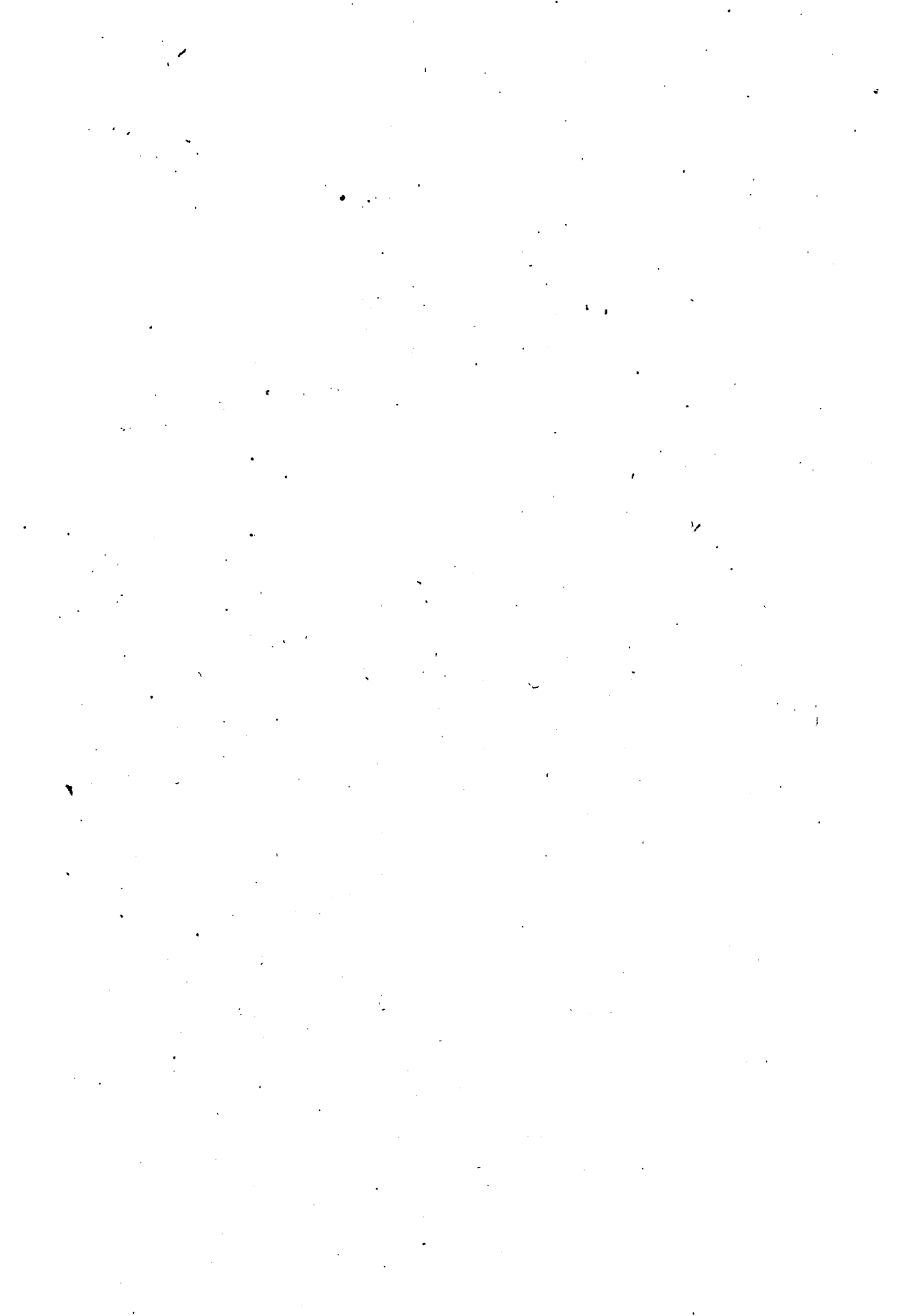
¹As an illustration of the sort of misrepresentation to which such study of sources leads, it is interesting to note that Mr. Gosse, in his *Short History of English Literature* (1898), says *F. L.* "begins as a translation of Machaut's *Dit du Vergier*."

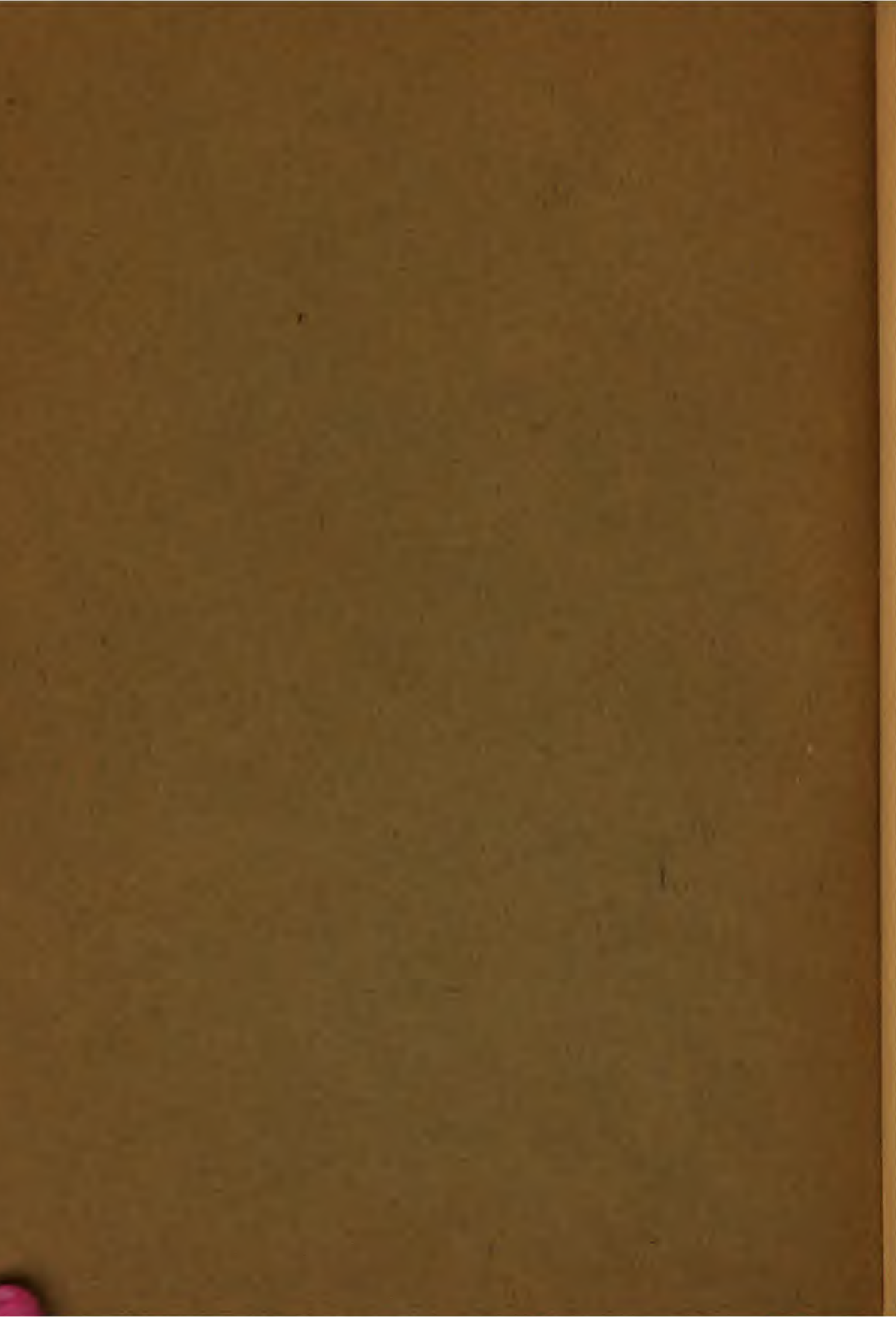
and Lydgate (primary indebtedness to Chaucer being, of course, taken for granted). The especially interesting material from Lydgate's *R. S.* is new, as that work was not generally accessible until after this study was begun.

The conclusion as to sources must be that *F. L.* is decidedly an eclectic composition. Beyond doubt the author's first model was Chaucer; especially in the Prologue to *L. G. W.*, but also at least in *C. T.*, *B. D.*, and *P. F.* Next in importance is Lydgate, whose *R. S.*, especially, presents more different points of resemblance to *F. L.*, in both diction and idea, than any other one production I have examined. Gower's *C. A.* and later poems of the Chaucerian school, notably *C. N.*, our author probably knew. As to direct French influence there is more uncertainty, since most of the features that were French in origin had been fairly well domesticated in England before *F. L.* was written. Thus the setting and the main action of the poem are paralleled in both Chaucer and Lydgate, and the most influential French allegories in which similar setting and action are found had been translated into English. It seems practically certain, however, that our author knew Deschamps' ballades on the Orders of the Flower and the Leaf, and extremely probable that he knew other poems by Deschamps, as well as by Machaut, Froissart, and Christine de Pisan. And behind all other French influence, directly or indirectly, is *R. R.*, which the author of *F. L.* must have known in the version attributed to Chaucer, and perhaps in the original.

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